THE S. P. G. NUMBER

HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH

CONTENTS

PUBLISHED QUARTERLY

SEPTEMBER	PER YEAR	PER COPY
1943	$4.00	$1.25

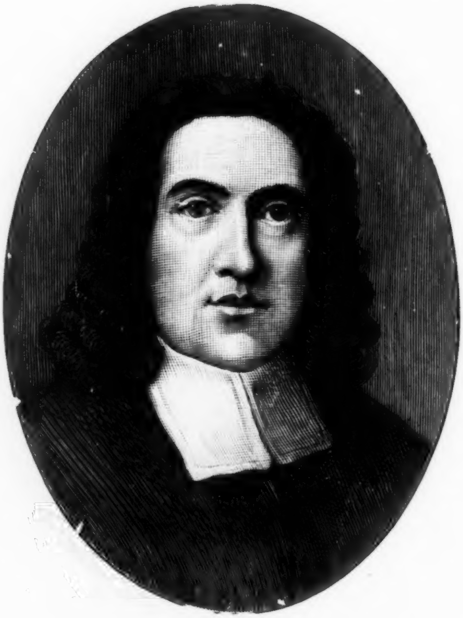
HISTORICAL MAGAZINE
OF THE
PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH

PUBLISHED AT 5 PATERSON STREET, NEW BRUNSWICK, NEW JERSEY, BY AUTHORITY OF GENERAL CONVENTION, UNDER THE DIRECTION OF A JOINT COMMITTEE OF SAID CONVENTION, AND UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE CHURCH HISTORICAL SOCIETY

PUBLICATION OFFICE: 5 Paterson St., New Brunswick, N. J. Address all subscriptions to HISTORICAL MAGAZINE as above. Four Dollars per year in advance. Checks should be drawn payable to HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

EDITORIAL OFFICE: Garrison, New York. All communications and manuscripts for publication, including books and pamphlets for review, to be addressed as above. The editors are not responsible for the accuracy of the statements of contributors.

Entered as second-class matter September 17, 1935, at the Post Office at New Brunswick, N. J., with additional entry at the Post Office at Richmond, Va., under the Act of March 3, 1879.



THE REVEREND DOCTOR THOMAS BRAY

1658-1730

FOUNDER OF MISSIONARY ENTERPRISE:

THE S. P. C. K., 1698

THE S. P. G., 1701

DOCTOR BRAY'S ASSOCIATES, 1723

OVER 100 LIBRARIES IN GREAT BRITAIN AND AMERICA. HE SENT 34,000 RELIGIOUS BOOKS AND TRACTS TO AMERICA.

Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church

VOL. XII SEPTEMBER, 1943. No. 3

THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL IN FOREIGN PARTS NUMBER

THOMAS BRAY (1658-1730)
FOUNDER OF MISSIONARY ENTERPRISE

*By John Wolfe Lydekker, M. A., F. S. A., F. R. Hist. S.,**

FOREWORD.

THE acquaintance which I have been privileged to experience with certain eminent missionaries and divines of the eighteenth century, through their writings and those of their contemporaries, has afforded me an opportunity of recording some of the little known activities of their careers. Among these, the achievements of Thomas Bray stand out in almost startling perspective when it is remembered that he was a man of no extraordinary genius and with few worldly advantages to assist him in his designs.

It had been my intention to compile a "full-length" biography of Doctor Bray, but paucity of material has precluded this. I can only, therefore, offer this brief and imperfect account of his life in the hope that it may serve in some small measure to perpetuate the memory of a great humanitarian and founder of missionary enterprise of the Anglican Church.

J. W. L.

Westminster
February 1942.

*Archivist to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel & Keeper of the Muniments of the Associates of the late Rev. Dr. Bray.

THOMAS BRAY

(1658-1730)

Founder of Missionary Enterprise

"IF true and unselfish devotion to the Church, indefatigable and most successful labour in its behalf, and a long and blameless life spent, with scant recognition, in the interests of religion, constitute a title to be ranked amongst our post-Reformation saints, no one deserves that title better than Thomas Bray; for no man did more for the Church at home and abroad, and no man received less from her in the way of earthly recompense".

This appraisement of the life and work of Thomas Bray, written by the late Canon Overton,[1] is an apt summary of one of the most far-sighted and energetic Churchmen of the eighteenth century, to whose enterprise the great missionary organisations of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts owe their origin.

FAMILY AND EDUCATION

Thomas Bray was born at Marton, Shropshire, in the parish of Chirbury, and was baptized on 2 May 1658. He was the only son of Richard and Mary Bray[2] whose family had long been resident in the neighborhood. Richard was the son of Edward Bray of Rorrington (a "township" or hamlet of Chirbury parish) whose father, Thomas Bray of Marton, married Gwendolen, daughter of Oliver Lloyd, lord of the manor of Marrington (another "township" of Chirbury) and sister of Ludovic (or Lewis) Lloyd. The latter achieved some distinction as a poet and compiler at the court of Queen Elizabeth. In several of his works Lloyd styles himself "her Majesties Sargeant at Armes"—a post which he retained under James I.[3] Lloyd's brother-in-law, Thomas Bray of Marton, was the son of David Bray[4] (also of Marton) whose

[1] *Some Post-Reformation Saints*, p. 48; S. P. C. K., 1905.

[2] *Vide* Baptismal Registers of Chirbury, through the courtesy of the present incumbent, the Rev. S. W. Roden.

[3] *Dictionary National Biography* under Lloyd, Ludovic or Lewis (fl. 1573-1610).

[4] David Bray's Will is dated 1559.

father, Ieuan (John) Bray, was the son of Ieuan Bray *Vychan,*[5] who flourished in the fifteenth century. It has been suggested that the name derives from the early British fortress of Caer Bré (pronounced *Bray*) at Chirbury, but whatever may be the correct derivation the family was certainly of Welsh origin.

Richard Bray's house, where Thomas Bray (the subject of this memoir) was born, still stands on the road to Chirbury and is known as "Bray's tenement". It is in fact little more than a cottage but Richard Bray was a man of slender means and no doubt he could not afford a more pretentious residence. As a boy, Thomas Bray showed a marked aptitude for study which encouraged his parents to send him to the Grammar School at Oswestry from which, at the age of seventeen, he proceeded to Hart Hall, Oxford, afterwards migrating to All Souls College. During his residence at the university, Bray read widely in theology, taking his bachelor's degree after three years' study. His intention was to remain at Oxford, but he was obliged to relinquish any hope of a fellowship or lectureship on account of his parents' straitened circumstances.[6]

EARLY MINISTRY

He was now in his twenty-first year and for the next two years nothing is known of his activities until he received ordination and was licensed as curate of Bridgnorth in his home county of Shropshire. Soon afterwards he became private chaplain to Sir Thomas Price of Park Hall, Warwickshire, who gave him the living of Lea Marston near Coleshill in the same county. The incumbent of Coleshill was the saintly John Kettlewell, a staunch non-juror and a well-known devotional writer, who had recently been presented to the living by Simon, Lord Digby, as a result of the reputation which he had acquired from his first book *The Measures of Christian Obedience.*[7] Bray became a firm friend of Kettlewell, through whom he came to the notice of Lord

[5]*Vychan*—"The Little", probably referring to Ieuan Bray's small stature.

[6]The chief authorities used in this monograph for Bray's life are an MS. *Short Historical Account of the Life and Designs of Thomas Bray, D. D.* by the topographer and non-juring bishop Richard Rawlinson, F. R. S., F. S. A., (1690-1755) in the Bodleian Library, and an anonymous pamphlet (mainly edited from Rawlinson's MS.) entitled *Publick Spirit, Illustrated in the Life and Designs of the Reverend Thomas Bray* published in 1746 and reprinted in 1808. Rawlinson's MS. has been published in *Rev. Thomas Bray: His Life and Selected Works Relating to Maryland* edited by Bernard C. Steiner; Maryland Historical Society Fund Publication No. 37; Baltimore, 1901.

My acknowledgments are also due to the Rev. Dr. Edgar Legare Pennington's *The Reverend Thomas Bray,* Publication No. VII of the (American) Church Historical Society, Philadelphia, 1934.

[7]*Dictionary National Biography* under Kettlewell, John, (1653-1695).

Digby[8] who was much impressed with a sermon which Bray preached soon afterwards at the Warwick Assizes. A cordial friendship grew up between Digby and the young clergyman, and shortly before his death Digby recommended Bray to his brother and heir, William, fifth Lord Digby.[9]

Like his brother, the new Lord Digby was a strong Churchman who took peculiar pains to obtain the best clergymen for perferment to the livings in his gift. He presented Bray to the vicarage of Over Whiteacre, Warwickshire, and when, in 1690, the rectory of Sheldon became vacant on the refusal of the non-juring incumbent, the Rev. Digby Bull,[10] to take the oath of allegiance to William III and Mary, Lord Digby gave the living to Bray. While at Sheldon Bray wrote his first theological work, *A Course of Lectures upon the Church Catechism,*[11] which he dedicated to his diocesan, Dr. Lloyd, bishop of Lichfield and Coventry,[12] who had persuaded Bray to publish it. Bray had intended that the book should fill four volumes but his time being fully occupied in other directions only the first volume was published, but of this 3,000 copies were issued. The work attracted considerable notice throughout the country and engaged the attention of Dr. Compton, bishop of London,[13] who made special inquiries as to its author and, as a result, made him an offer which affected the whole course of his future activities.

Compton had recently received a request from the governor (Colonel Francis Nicholson) and the Assembly of Maryland that a "superintendant, commissary or suffragan" should be appointed to that province. This request was the outcome of an act passed by the Maryland legislature in 1692 which had divided the province into parishes

[8]Simon, 4th. Barton Digby, was the grandson of Robert Digby, Governor of King's County, Ireland, who was created Baron Digby of Geashill in the Peerage of Ireland in 1620; *vide* Debrett's *Peerage.* Lord Digby had considerable estates in Warwickshire.

[9]William, Lord Digby, was three years younger than Bray, having been born in 1661. He succeeded his brother in 1685. His warm friendship with Bray and his admiration of Bray's work led him to become a member of the S. P. G. The life-size portrait of Bray (reproduced as a frontispiece to C. F. Pascoe's *Two Hundred Years of the S. P. G.*) was painted for Lord Digby in whose family it remained until 1892 when the late Sir Kenelm Edward Digby, G. C. B., K. C., (a nephew of the 9th. Baron) presented it to the S. P. G.

[10]It would seem probable from his Christian name (Digby) that Mr. Bull was either related to, or named after, his patron's family.

[11]Generally known as the *Catechetical Lectures;* Published at Oxford, 1696.

[12]William Lloyd (1627-1717), successively bishop of St. Asaph, Lichfield and Coventry, and Worcester. Lloyd was one of the "Seven Bishops" whose famous trial in 1688 did much to bring about the Revolution against James II.

[13]Henry Compton (1632-1713, youngest son of Spencer Compton, 2nd. Earl of Northampton), successively bishop of Oxford and London. His father was killed at Hopton Heath (1643) in the Civil War, and he himself began life as a soldier, having fought under James, Duke of York (afterwards James II), in Flanders, receiving a commission in the Royal Horse Guards at the Restoration. Two years later he took Holy Orders. *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

and had established a legal maintenance for the clergy. The matter had, however, proceeded no further until Nicholson succeeded Sir Lionel Copley as governor in February 1694.[14] Due to Nicholson's energy[15] the Assembly petitioned the Crown in October 1695 praying that the judicial office of commissary (which was at the governor's disposal) should be made purely ecclesiastical and placed under the appointment of the bishops of London, and as a necessary corollary to this petition Bishop Compton received the request for a commissary as stated above.

This action of the Maryland Assembly was based upon the five years' experience of Rev. James Blair as commissary of the bishop of London in Virginia: during which time it had been made clear that, being without the authority of a judge, he could neither try cases of misconduct by legal trial, nor inflict punishment other than the taking away of the license given by the bishop of London to a minister, authorizing him to hold a living in the colony. The Assembly was therefore asking first that the bishop send a commissary to Maryland, and second that he be given actual judicial powers. The difficulty in the case arose from the fact that under the charter of Maryland the Proprietor, Lord Baltimore, had full and sole authority to establish courts of all sorts, appoint rules of procedure and select the judges. For this reason the request of the Assembly was made to the Crown, their petition being that the king would grant to the bishop of London the authority to give judicial powers to his commissary: an action which it would have been exceedingly difficult for the Crown to take unless the Proprietor should declare his willingness to give up a right which King Charles had granted to him.

Being desirous to send a commissary to Maryland, and passing over the request for judicial powers as outside his power to grant, Compton decided that Bray was the right man for the post and on Bray's accepting the offer he received the appointment (April 1696). The emoluments were stated to be £400 per annum, but the appointment precluded Bray from completing his *Catechetical Lectures* whereby he almost certainly incurred considerable financial loss.

When we speak of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the bishop of London in the American colonies we must sharply qualify the ordinary meaning of that term. He did not at any time have the same degree of jurisdiction in the colonies which he exercised in his own diocese of London, nor did he exercise the jurisdiction which any bishop of today exercises in his diocese. He had actually little more real authority over

[14]The former governor, Copley, died in September 1693.

[15]Nicholson, who had been lieutenant-governor of New York (1686-89) and of Virginia (1690-93), was a staunch supporter of the Church. He founded many churches and schools in the American colonies and, with Commissary James Blair of Virginia, he was the chief founder of the William & Mary College, Virginia.

the Church in the colonies than the right or duty of selecting and licensing ministers to serve in the colonies, and of exercising some supervision over their conduct. He could appoint commissaries as his personal representatives but he could not give them judicial powers or the authority to establish ecclesiastical courts.

The Crown had assigned to the governors of the several colonies certain duties normally performed in England by a bishop in his own diocese; such as the granting of probates of wills, the issuing of licenses for marriages without banns, and the induction of ministers. The bishop of London was not permitted to perform these duties in the American colonies. His influence throughout the colonies in all matters pertaining to the Anglican Church was beyond question greater than that of any other bishop; but it was an influence based upon his licensing and right of supervision of the clergy rather than upon any law or grant from the Crown giving him greater authority.[16]

THE FOUNDING OF LIBRARIES

Before leaving for Maryland Bray decided that some more clergy should be recruited for the province. The clergy then resident in Maryland were only eight in number and two years before (1694) there had been but three.[17] Bray found, however, that he could only obtain poor men who could not afford to buy books. In his eyes this was a very serious obstacle for he rightly considered that such men were bound to deteriorate without proper educational facilities. He thereupon drew up a report to the bishops in which he stressed the importance of founding libraries in Maryland for the use of the clergy and as an encouragement for the better type of men to go to the province. In conclusion, he made it clear that he himself would only take up his appointment as commissary on the understanding that the bishops would assist him in his designs for providing the libraries.

Bray's report was well received, and having obtained promises of support from the bishops, he began recruiting clergy and arranging for the establishment of the libraries. In December (1696), at the repeated requests of Governor Nicholson and the Maryland Assembly, he took his bachelor of divinity and doctor of divinity degrees at Oxford which, it was maintained, would enhance the dignity and *status* of his office.[18]

[16]For a careful study of the relation of the bishop of London to the American colonies, see A. L. Cross, *The Anglican Episcopate and the American Colonies.*

[17]*Vide* letter of the Maryland clergy to Bishop Compton, 18 May 1696; Fulham MSS. transcribed in Perry, *Historical Collections Relating to the Colonial Church, Vol. IV, Maryland,* pp. 8-13. It is possible that there were one or two more clergy but there are only eight signatures to the letter.

[18]He had taken his M. A. in December 1693. The charges in connection with his baccalaureate and doctorate in divinity were borne by himself, which he could ill afford.

In the meantime the Act of 1692 for establishing the Church in Maryland had failed to receive the royal assent owing to a defective clause, and a new act was drafted bearing the same title. Bray considered that it would be better to postpone his departure for Maryland until the new act received the royal assent, and this gave him further opportunity for recruiting clergy for the province and for establishing his libraries which he now decided should be extended to Great Britain. In 1697 he published *An Essay Towards Promoting all Necessary and Useful Knowledge, both Divine and Human: In all the Parts of His Majesty's Dominions, Both at Home and Abroad.* The work contained proposals for purchasing lending libraries in all the rural deaneries of England and Wales and for establishing libraries in Maryland, Virginia and other British colonies. With regard to the "home" libraries, Bray found that many of the clergy needed better opportunity for the study of religious books which they could not readily obtain; his idea of utilizing the deaneries as the basis of the scheme was also intended to revive the jurisdiction of the deaneries which in many cases had almost ceased to function. This comprehensive scheme was the beginning of the association generally known as "The Associates of the late Rev. Dr. Bray" which still carries on its founder's designs in all parts of the world.[19]

About this time Bray published two other books: The *Bibliotheca Parochialis, or a Scheme of Such Theological Heads both General and Particular, as are More peculiarly Requisite to be well Studied by every Pastor of a Parish; Together with a Catalogue of Books which may be Read upon each of those Points,* and *Apostolick Charity: its Nature and Excellence Consider'd: To which is prefixt A General View of the English Colonies in America in Order to Shew what Provision is Wanting for the Propagation of Christianity in those Parts: Together with Proposals for the Promoting the Same and to Induce Such of the Clergy of this Kingdom as are Persons of Sobriety and Abilities to Accept of a Mission.* The chief objects of these two works were to further his designs for the libraries and to give the Maryland (and other) missionaries a proper appreciation of their duties.

Bray established his first oversea library at Annapolis, the new seat of the Maryland government which had been removed to this city by Governor Nicholson. Formerly known as Ann Arundel, the city was re-named Annapolis out of compliment to the Princess Anne.[20] Sir Thomas Lawrence, secretary of Maryland, waited on the princess to ask her consent to this change of name. He was accompanied by

[19]*Vide* the Annual Reports of the Association (published at 15. Tufton Street, Westminster, S. W. 1.)

[20]Anne was heir presumptive to the Crown since the death of her sister, Queen Mary, in December 1694.

Bray who informed the princess of his library scheme to which she gave a generous donation, and Bray thereupon dedicated the library at Annapolis to her by the name of the "Annapolitan Library". This was not only the first lending library in the colonies but it constituted the largest collection of books in America. Many of these books still remain at St. John's College, Annapolis.[21]

The expenses of the first thirty libraries which Bray founded in America came to £2,000 of which only £1,500 had been collected, the deficit being made up by Bray himself. So far as is known he had not received any of his salary as commissary and this sum of £500 for the libraries constituted a heavy burden on his personal finances. Some time later he wrote: "I have spent Three full Years and upwards in the carrying on of this Design solely at my own Charge and have undergone an unspeakable Labour and Fatigue in the prosecution thereof".[22] Nevertheless he had his reward in the sixty-one flourishing libraries which he founded in England and Wales and his numerous libraries in New York, Boston, Charles Town, East Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland and other places abroad.[23] In all he sent more than 33,000 books and tracts to the American colonies[24] which, in those days of the comparatively small output of the printing presses and the difficulties and hazards of transport, was no mean achievement. That the libraries were greatly appreciated is evidenced by the numerous letters of thanks which Bray received from the assembles, vestries and clergy of various provinces and parishes in America, and the acknowledgments of the Royal African Trading Company (founded in 1672) for libraries which he established for its factories on the West African coast.

FOUNDING OF THE S. P. C. K.

While thus engaged in establishing his libraries Bray conceived a far-reaching idea for the more effectual propagation of Christianity in the colonies which resulted in the foundation of the two great societies, the S. P. C. K.[25] and the S. P. G.[26] An opportunity seemed to present itself for the inauguration of this new scheme when in 1697 a bill was introduced in Parliament to alienate lands given to "superstitious uses" and vest them in Greenwich Hospital. Bray petitioned that a

[21] Steiner, *Maryland Historical Society Fund Publication No. 37*, p. 243.

[22] Lambeth Archives, quoted in Kemp, *Support of Schools in Colonial New York*, p. 11.

[23] In all he founded upwards of fifty libraries oversea. For a detailed study of one such library, see, E. L. Pennington, "The Beginnings of the Library in Charles Town, South Carolina" (31 pp.), in *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* for April, 1934, Worcester, Massachusetts, U. S. A.

[24] *Vide* Appendix to the 2nd. edition (1808) of *Publick Spirit Illustrated etc.*

[25] The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.

[26] The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.

share of the proceeds should be vested in a corporation for the "Propagation of True Religion in the Forreign Plantations", but in this he failed. In the following year he petitioned for a grant of some arrears of taxes due to the Crown. His petition was favourably received but to complete the grant he was obliged to go to Holland (where King William was then staying) for the royal sign manual to the grant. Unfortunately, the recovery of the monies so granted proved to be so difficult to obtain that the grant was of no practical value. While at the Hague, Bray became acquainted with the King's secretary, Abel Tassin, Sieur D'Allone, to whom he confided a further scheme which he had in mind for the conversion and education of the Negro slaves in the West Indian plantations. Monsieur Tassin was so struck with Bray's zeal for this praiseworthy cause that he gave him various sums amounting to £900, and by his will (dated 1721) he bequeathed to Bray and his "Associates" one-tenth of his estate in England and the arrears of the pension due to him from the Crown, as a capital fund, the income of which was to be used by Bray for founding schools for Negro slaves. This money, augmented by a gift of £500 from another of Bray's friends, the Rev. Abbot Upcher, form the capital of the trust which is still administered by the "Associates of the Late Rev. Dr. Bray" for assisting Negro schools in the Bahamas.[27]

Meanwhile the idea of a corporation or society for the propagation of religion, both in Great Britain and the colonies, still engrossed Bray's attention, and soon after his return from Holland he drafted a scheme for the incorporation of such a body which he proposed should be authorized by a royal charter. The original draft is as follows:[28]

A General Plan of the Constitution of a Protestant Congregation or Society for Propagating Christain Knowledge.

First. That it consist both of the Clergy of the chiefest Note, and of such Lay Gentlemen as are eminent for their Worth, and Affection to Religion.

Secondly. That these Persons be incorporated by Charter, as The Royal Society, or The Sons of the Clergy; and be thereby empowered to meet and consult, as often as there shall be occasion, upon the best Means and Methods of promoting Religion and Learning in any part of His Majesty's Plantations abroad.

[27]*Vide* extract of Tassin's Will, S. P. G. "A" MSS, Vol. 19, p. 17 and *Annual Reports* of Dr. Bray's Associates.

[28]This document is in the library of Sion College together with some other manuscripts which Bray bequeathed to the College.

FIRST. AS TO THE PLANTATIONS ABROAD.

1st. That it be under their Care to provide and support such Missionaries as the Lord Bishop of London shall think necessary to be sent into those Parts, where no Establishment or Provision is yet made for the Support of the Clergy.

2ndly. That they proceed to perfect the Design of fixing Parochial Libraries throughout the Plantations, in order to render both these Missionaries and all the other Clergy in the Plantations useful and serviceable, in the Propagation of the Christian Faith and Manners.

3rdly. That it be in their Power to allot such Gratuities or Pensions as they shall think fit, as Rewards to those Ministers, concerning whom they shall be satisfied that they merit more than ordinary, by their Learning, Labour, and Success, in their Ministry and Mission; as also, that it be in their Power to propose and allot what Pension they think fit to such Ministers as shall most hazard their Persons in attempting the Conversion of the Negroes or native Indians.

4thly. That it be their Care to make some Provision for such of our Missionaries' Widows and Children as are left unprovided; especially for the Widows and Orphans of such as by their Zeal and Industry in converting Souls may have occasioned the Loss of Life or Goods.

SECONDLY. AS TO THE PROPAGATING OF CHRISTAIN KNOWLEDGE AT HOME.

1st. That they proceed to provide Catechetical Libraries in the smaller Parishes of this Kingdom, to enable the poor Clergy to perform their Duty of catechising according to the 39th. Canon; and the Market-towns with Lending Libraries, for any of the Clergy to have recourse to, or to borrow Books out of, as there shall be Occasion.

2ndly. That they proceed also to set up Catechetical Schools, for the Education of poor Children in reading and writing, and more especially in the Principles of the Christian Religion.

3rdly. To enable the Congregation *pro Propaganda Fide* to discharge these forementioned Trusts, that they be empowered by their Charter to receive Gifts, Grants, Legacies etc. not exceeding (   ) per annum, as by the Charter shall be limited.

This scheme, as drawn up by Bray, received the strong support of Bishop Compton, but it was found impossible to put it into effect

at that time. It led, however, to the formation of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, which was organized on a voluntary basis. The founders of this society were men of strong principles and sound judgment. At the first meeting, held on 8 March 1699 at the house of Mr. Justice Hook(e), only the five founders were present:[29] Francis, Lord Guildford,[30] Sir Humphrey Mackworth,[31] Mr. Justice Hook(e),[32] Colonel Maynard Colchester,[33] and Doctor Bray. Of these, three were eminent lawyers while Bray was the only clergyman.

In the following month John Chamberlayne became a member of the Society and was soon afterwards appointed its first secretary.[34] A distinguished scholar and an accomplished linguist, Chamberlayne was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1702.[35] Thus in his choice of founders and of the first secretary of his new society, Bray had ob-

[29]Minutes of the S. P. C. K., transcribed in Allen & McClure *Two Hundred Years of the S. P. C. K., 1698-1898,* p. 13.

[30]Francis, Lord Guildford (1673-1729), was the eldest son of Sir Francis North, Lord Chancellor and 1st. Baron Guildford, and succeeded his father in 1685. He was educated at Trinity College, Oxford, and was Lord Lieutenant of Essex from 1703 to 1705, and president of the Board of Trade in 1714; *Ibid.,* pp. 13, 14.

[31]Sir Humphrey Mackworth (1657-1727) was the second son of Thomas Mackworth of Betton Grange, Salop. His father had been a colonel under Cromwell and sat for Shropshire in Cromwell's second Parliament. Humphrey Mackworth was educated at Magdalen College, Oxford, called to the bar (Middle Temple) in 1682, and knighted in 1683. In 1698 he founded a company to exploit coal and copper on an estate near Neath. In 1703 he became constable of Neath Castle, and he sat as M. P. for Cardiganshire. He published several political and financial tracts and was the author of a *Treatise Concerning the Divine Authority of the Scripture etc.* (See, *Dictionary of National Biography.*)

[32]John Hook(e) (1655-1712) was the eldest son of John Hooke of Drogheda. He was educated at Trinity College, Dublin, called to the bar (Gray's Inn) in 1681 and became a serjeant-at-law in 1700. In 1703 he was made chief justice of Carnarvon, Merineth and Anglesey. His wife Elizabeth was a daughter of the Cromwellian general, John Lambeth. (See, *Dictionary of National Biography.*)

[33]Maynard Colchester (1665-1715) was the son of Sir Duncombe Colchester of Westbury, Gloucestershire, by his wife Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Maynard, a judge and a lord commissioner of the great seal. Colonel Colchester sat as M. P. for Gloucestershire. Before the formation of the S. P. C. K. he founded a charity school, and he was one of the founders of the Society for the Reformation of Manners. He was also one of the original members of the S. P. G.: Allen & McClure, *Two Hundred Years of the S. P. C. K., 1698-1898,* pp. 15, 16. (See, *Dictionary of National Biography* for Sir J. Maynard.)

[34]*Ibid.,* p. 18.

[35]John Chamberlayne (1666-1723) was the son of Edward Chamberlayne, LL. D., D. C. L., (author of *The Present State of England* and one of the original Fellows of the Royal Society), and great-grandson of Sir Thomas Chamberlayne, English ambassador in the Netherlands. He was educated at Trinity College, Oxford, and Leyden University, where he studied modern languages, becoming (it is said) proficient in no less than sixteen. He was appointed Gentleman Waiter to Prince George of Denmark (consort of the Princess—later Queen—Anne) and to George I, and he was also secretary of Queen Anne's Bounty Commission. In 1701 he became the first secretary of the newly-founded S. P. G.: *Dictionary of National Biography;* S. P. G. archives.

tained the services of men who were prominent in their professions and who possessed considerable experience in political, financial and literary spheres.

At the first meeting of the Society it was decided (1) to ascertain what had been done towards proselytizing the Quakers; (2) to consider how best to provide catechetical schools in all parishes in and around London; (3) that the archbishop of Canterbury (Thomas Tenison) should be asked to see that a clause be inserted in a "Bill for improving the Poor" so that the children should be taught to read and be instructed in the Catechism; and (4) that Bray should lay before the Society a scheme which he had drawn up for promoting religion in the colonies, and also his accounts of "benefactions and disbursements towards the same".[36]

With regard to the first resolution, Colonel Colchester and Bray were desired to consult the ex-Quaker, George Keith, whose recent conversion to the Anglican Church was soon to be followed by his ordination at the hands of Bishop Compton. At this time Keith was engaged in touring the country with the object of persuading the Quakers to accept Anglicanism. He had spent some years in America and his knowledge of the American colonies singularly qualified him for his subsequent appointment (in 1702) as the first missionary of the then newly-founded Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.[37]

The original aims of the S. P. C. K. were soon expanded: it opened a crusade against looseness on the stage and it prosecuted cases of profaneness. In addition to its work of founding libraries in Great Britain and the colonies it began to translate books into foreign languages, and to distribute books and tracts among British seamen.[38] It

[36]Minutes of the S. P. C. K., transcribed in *Two Hundred Years of the S. P. C. K., 1698-1898*, pp. 25, 26.

[37]George Keith (1638-1716) known as "the Christian Quaker," was born near Aberdeen and was, perhaps, a cadet of the Keith family, Earls Marischal. He graduated at Marischal College (in Aberdeen University) which had been founded by his name-sake George Keith, 5th. Earl Marischal, in 1593. Keith was a classmate of Gilbert Burnet, afterwards bishop of Salisbury. From 1702 to 1704 he laboured in the American colonies as the first missionary of the S. P. G. [See, *Dictionary of National Biography;* S. P. G. archives; for his definitive biography, see, Ethyn Williams Kirby, *George Keith, 1638-1716* (New York and London, D. Appleton-Century Company, 1942, pp. 177).]

[38]Cf. Minutes of 10 March and 14 July 1701:—"Ordered that St. John Phillips [a notable member of the Society] be desired to speak to Sr. George Rook [who captured Gibralter in 1704] about dispersing the Seaman's Monitor, together with the Kind Caution against Swearing, and the Perswasive to the Observation of the Lord's Day, amongst the Saylors in his Majesty's Navy". "Ordered that the Secretary doe write to Mr. Hodges, Chaplain Generall of the Fleet, about the method of dispersing the Society's Books & Papers amongst the Seamen": Transcribed in *Two Hundred Years of the S. P. C. K., 1698-1898*, pp. 124, 125, footnote.

assisted the Reformed Communities on the Continent,[39] and later it directed public attention to the urgent need of reforms in the prisons of this country. In all these undertakings Bray's influence can be traced as the prime factor which imbued his colleagues with his own far-sighted designs.

Within eighteen months from the first meeting of the Society its membership had been increased by a number of influential persons including several bishops. Of these new members may be mentioned Sir John Comyns;[40] William Melmoth, treasurer of Lincoln's Inn;[41] Sir John Philipps, Bart: of Picton Castle, County Pembroke;[42] Frederick Slare, F. R. S., the well-known physician and chemist;[43] the Rev. Dr. John Mapletoft;[44] the Rev. Henry Shute, lecturer of Whitechapel (who was appointed treasurer of the Society); the Rev. Dr. White Kennet (afterwards bishop of Peterborough); the bishops of Gloucester (Edward Fowler), Chichester (John Williams), Bath & Wells (Richard Kidder), Salisbury (Gilbert Burnet), Worcester (William Lloyd), Ely (Simon Patrick), and Sodor & Man (the celebrated Thomas Wilson); Edmund Gibson (then rector of Lambeth and later bishop of London); and Robert Nelson,[45] the well-known religious writer and philanthropist. Though not enrolled as members the two archbishops (Thomas Tenison and John Sharp) and Bishop Compton of London gave the Society every encouragement and support.[46]

[39]Among the Society's foreign correspondents were Philip Jakob Spener (1635-1705) who founded a religious university at Halle and his disciple, Augustus Hermann Franke (1663-1727); John Frederick Osterwald, of Neuchatel; M. de Beringhen, of the Hague; the great scholar, John Ernest Grabbe (who joined the Anglican Church); and Dr. Brinck, a Danish minister of Copenhagen; *Ibid.*, pp. 7, 21.

[40]Sir John Comyns (d. 1740) was the son of William Comyns, barrister-at-law. He was called to the bar at Lincoln's Inn in 1690 and was made a serjeant-at-law in 1705. In 1726 he was sworn a baron of the Exchequer of which he became lord chief baron in 1738. He is best known for his legal works of which his *Digest of the Laws of England* was considered for many years as a great authority: (See, *Dictionary of National Biography*).

[41]William Melmoth (1666-1743), author of *The Great Importance of a Religious Life* which ran through many editions: *Two Hundred Years of the S. P. C. K., 1698-1898*, pp. 19, 20.

[42]Sir John Philipps was a friend and patron of George Whitefield and the two Wesleys, and an enthusiastic co-operator with the Rev. Griffith Jones, vicar of Llanddowror, the founder of charity schools in Wales: J. E. de Hirsch-Davis, *A Popular History of the Church in Wales*, pp. 227-8; (see also *Dictionary of National Biography*, Jones, Griffith.)

[43]*Vide* his biography in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

[44]John Mapletoft (1631-1721), F. R. S., president of Sion College, was a distinguished physician and divine: *Dictionary of National Biography*.

[45]Robert Nelson (1651-1715) was the son of John Nelson a wealthy Turkey merchant. A staunch non-juror he became an intimate friend of John Kettlewell (*vide*, Bray's Early Ministry, *supra*) who made him his executor. He was a strong supporter of the Religious Societies and was active in the movement for establishing charity schools. In 1710 he was appointed one of the commissioners by the House of Commons for building fifty new churches in London. (See, *Dictionary of National Biography*.)

[46]*Two Hundred Years of the S. P. C. K., 1698-1898*, pp. 19-21.

COMMISSARY TO MARYLAND

Meanwhile the act (of 1696) for establishing and endowing the Anglican Church in Maryland had shared the fate of the former act of 1692 as, contrary to the instructions of the Lords of Trade, it contained a clause declaring all the laws of England to be in force in Maryland. After some deliberation as to the advisability or otherwise of petitioning for the king's intervention, Bray wrote to the Maryland Assembly urging it to revise and re-enact the bill which he then hoped would pass the Lords of Trade and receive the royal assent. He had already stayed two years in England waiting for the passage of the act and he now felt that it was high time for him to visit Maryland in his office of commissary where he could personally supervise the re-enactment of the bill in the Assembly. At this juncture he was offered the living of Aldgate, London—a preferment which some of his friends tried to persuade him to accept and to resign his appointment of commissary from which he still received no emolument. Bray, however, was determined to go to Maryland although he was obliged to sell some of his personal effects in order to raise the necessary funds for the voyage.

On 16 December 1699 he embarked at Gravesend, and on the 20th his vessel reached Deal. On the following day it sailed for Plymouth where it anchored on Christmas Eve, and Bray went ashore and stayed for the next ten days in the town. With his customary zeal Bray used the opportunity thus given to him of establishing libraries at Gravesend, Deal, and Plymouth for the use of missionaries, naval chaplains and other clergy who were often delayed on their journeys at these seaports, and who might otherwise be tempted to "saunt [er] away whole Hours together in Coffee Houses, or may be less sober Places". On 4 January his ship sailed from Plymouth and (in Bray's own words)

> "We Arrived not within the Capes till March ye 8th. by which youle Conclude we had a Tedious passage. Indeed the whole Voyage was very stormy, as is usual in the Winter; but, I thank God, we reced. no Damage. The most remarkable storms we met with were Jany. ye 20, the Wind from the West S. W. to ye W. N. W. when we lay a Trie[47] under our Mainsayle till 4 of ye Clock. This morning our mainsayle and Sheet gave way, & split our sayle to pieces, then huld. Another violent Storm we had ffeb. 8th. The wind S. S. W. to ye N. N. W. with much Rain, Thunder, and Lightnings. We hulld also, and lay a Trie most part of this last 24 hours. And Immediately preceding both these Storms, we had Corpizants,

[47] i. e. a try-sail.

being Globular Exhalations, playing upon the Top of our masts which the Mariners tell us do alwaies portend Storms".[48]

After this hazardous voyage the ship reached Maryland on 12 March. It so happened that one of the passengers was a (Quaker) agent of William Penn, named Singleton, who had been entrusted with the order from the Privy Council informing the Maryland Assembly of the defeat of their act for establishing the Church to which allusion has already been made.[49] The presence of this gentleman in the ship was no doubt anything but pleasing to Bray as he had good reason to believe that the annulment of the act was partly due to the Quakers who had done all in their power to prevent it from becoming law.[50]

On his arrival Bray's first act was to call on the governor, Colonel Nathaniel Blakiston,[51] (who had succeeded Francis Nicholson in 1698 on the latter's promotion to the governorship of Virginia.) Bray brought a letter of introduction to Blakiston from Archbishop Tenison, to which the governor sent the following reply:

Maryland, 10th April, 1700.

May it please Your Grace,

By the hands of Dr. Bray I had a signal favor and honor conferred upon me in the receipt of your Letter of 7th Novr., by which I find myself happy in your Grace's good wishes for me, and lay under the misfortune of being an absolute stranger to your Grace at my coming here, but hope you will pardon me if I tell your Grace I am sorry for the occasion (which is by a law that is dropped),[52] though it will give me a handle to confirm you not only of my principles, but my true zeal for the Church of England, by disannulling the sd. law, which has but lately occurred here, to our great surprize.

I did flatter myself, notwithstandg. the pageantry and boast of some people, that the Church was in all moral probability not to be shocked by a mean party within ourselves here, whose interest at home I took to be slender, and did believe that we only wanted Dr. Bray to make some regulations amongst us with his good example, which I do not doubt but he would have effectually done, had not we been unhinged, as I am afraid I may too justly term it, for in the same Ship which brought us the worthy Gentleman came an Order in Council

[48]Manuscript in the Sion College Library, printed in Steiner, *Maryland Historical Society Fund Publication No. 37*, p. 244.

[49]*Vide,* Memorial Representing the Case of the Church in Maryland, S. P. G. archives.

[50]F. L. Hawks, *Eccles: Contributions, Vol. II, Maryland,* pp. 89, 90.

[51]Blakiston was a nephew of Nehemiah Blakiston, a person of some importance in Maryland. He had been lieutenant-governor of Montserrat.

[52]*i. e.* the act already mentioned.

for the disannulling the law for religion, which consequently has taken off the 40 per poll,[53] of which I have here sent your Grace a copy .... I cannot omit to acquaint your Grace that .... the Quakers' interest have been too prevalent, which [with ?] the malice of some others who are above me, and therefore not fit for me to conceive, but I crave leave to tell your Grace it has so awakened me that I have not employed my thoughts in any Public affairs but in consulting with Dr. Bray, the most prudent method to re-establish it again. Though he is a Stranger in the province I am not, and I have endeavoured to possess with him the first information I am capable of, and of what I intended to offer to the Council, which met yesterday. In order to retrieve our misfortunes, he was pleased to approve of my weak conduct in the matter, but with all I assured him, if he did conceive any other methods more advantageous I was ready to close with him, and decline my own.

I must acquaint your Grace that I have contrived it so that the Assembly shall meet the 26th. of this month, though privately I crave leave to signify your Grace I ought to have some farther instructions before from home, but Dr. Bray, with myself, and all those who are well inclined to the Church, are positively of Opinion that if I defer meeting the Assembly longer we shall certainly lose our glorious Cause, for the Quakers will be able to make their interest better; besides, it is discovered as it is, Mr. Penn will be this way towards Whitsuntide, whose head will be privately at work, no doubt, as an enemy to us in his advice.

I do not forsee any prejudice it will be in calling the Assembly, only [I] am afraid what I have done out of a true affection to the Church may by some be rendered to my disadvantage at home, though I have the vanity to hope it must be grounded upon nothing but my appearing was upon this occasion. If this Assembly should obtrude . . . I am resolved to dismiss them, and try another. I shall take care to have all my proceedings upon Record, both with the Council and Assembly, or to be sent to your Grace if necessity require it. I hope my Actions will be so justified to stand the test of the most malicious. Dr. Bray has seen what has yet past. I have given him the Characters of both the Council and Assembly to transmit to your Grace, who are for us and [who are] against us, as soon as possible I was capable of making a judgment. I must confess I have great hopes of our success . . . I crave leave to refer your Grace to Dr. Bray for a more ample in-

[53]The "40 per poll" was a levy of 40 lbs. of tobacco (the staple commodity of the province) on all planters, their children, servants and negro slaves of 16 years and upwards, towards the endowment of the various parishes and ministers' stipends. This levy was provided for in the annulled acts of 1692 and 1696: it was (naturally) particularly objectionable to the Roman Catholics, Dissenters and Quakers.

formation of our affairs, having already [I] fear exceeded the bounds of what becomes him who is, with all Duty,

Yr. Grace's most humble and Most obedient Son & Servant,

N. BLAKISTON.[54]

During the weeks before the meeting of the Assembly—convened for 26 April—Bray was employed in obtaining information concerning Church affairs in the province. The result of his inquiries showed that a large proportion of the people were, at least nominally, members of the Anglican Church, whilst about one twelfth were Roman Catholics and a somewhat larger proportion were Quakers. While thus engaged Bray also performed the ordinary duties of his office and preached on several occasions to responsive congregations.

The work of re-drafting the act for establishing the Church was chiefly delegated to Bray and the Maryland attorney-general, and it has been suggested that Bray's influence upon the members of the Assembly did much towards the passing of the act and was responsible for the insertion of a clause enjoining that

> "The Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments with the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, according to the Use of the Church of England . . . be solemnly read by all and every Minister, or Lay Reader, in every Church *or other Place of Publick Worship* within this Province."[55]

Such an injunction was not only in conflict with the existing Maryland statutes—which granted liberty of worship to all denominations—but it was a direct violation of the principles of liberty of conscience, and, at such, was certain to arouse bitter opposition from the Roman Catholic and Quaker communities. How far in fact Bray favoured this unfortunate clause cannot be known, but it would seem more probably that it was sponsored by Governor Nicholson[56] who had gone to Annapolis to confer with Bray and Blakiston and to give them his support in getting the act passed.[57]

On 5 May Bray preached a sermon before the Assembly on "The

[54]Fulham MSS., transcribed in Perry, *Historical Collections of the American Colonial Church, Vol. IV, Maryland*, pp. 30, 31.

[55]Anderson, *History of the Colonial Church, Vol. II*, pp. 632-3; Draft of the Act, transcribed in Perry, *Historical Collections of the American Colonial Church, Vol. IV, Maryland*, pp. 41 *et seq.*

[56]Nicholson was a staunch supporter of the Church of England and a harsh opponent of other denominations. As former governor of Maryland he had considerable influence with the Assembly.

[57]Letter, Nicholson to Archbishop Tenison, Fulham MSS., transcribed in Perry, *op. cit. Vol. I, Virginia*, p. 118. Bray had brought a letter from Tenison to Nicholson which had requested the latter to give his assistance in the matter; *ibid.*, p. 117.

Necessity of Early Religion", taking as his text the well-known verse "Remember now thy Creator in the days of thy youth" (Ecclesiastes XII, v. 1). This sermon was much appreciated by the members who passed a resolution of thanks to Bray "for his Excellent Sermon" and ordered it to be printed.[58]

Two days later (7 May) the Assembly passed the Church act *nem: con:,* and at the conclusion of the session the members recorded a vote of thanks to Bray for his advice and assistance in drafting the measure. The Assembly then requested him to solicit the help of Archbishop Tenison and Bishop Compton in obtaining the royal assent to the act, and for this purpose it was suggested to Bray that he should return to England as soon as he could conveniently do so. Bray concurred in this request but decided to hold a general visitation of the clergy before leaving Maryland, and to this end he issued citations to all the clergy to assemble at Annapolis on 22 May. The purpose of the visitation was thus summarised:

> (1) "To prevent Scandals in the Ministers who should come in,
> (2) to keep them in their Duty of Catechising, Preaching and Teaching, and
> (3) to propagate the true Religion in the neighboring Provinces".

In answer to this summons seventeen clergy appeared, and, after Bray had given them his visitation charge, resolutions were adopted thanking the governor and the Assembly for the passing of the Church act. These formalities being concluded, measures were taken for supporting missions where no established maintenance had been provided, and proposals were put forward "for the Propagation of the Christian Religion and for the Reduction of the Quakers thereunto in the Province of Pennsylvania"—the stronghold of Quakerism—and for this purpose a subscription list was opened headed by Bray with a donation of £10. Various other matters were dealt with including the need for proper religious instruction of children and for preaching "a Scheme of Divinity", and it was decided that sermons should be given upon "the Duties of Magistrates and against Prophaneness and Immorality". On the third (and last) day of the visitation the clergy urged Bray to return to England to solicit the royal assent to the Church act "as conceiving he would be capable of doing it [*i. e.* the Church] much more Service at Home [during] the remaining part of this Year, than by his Presence here, till his next Visitation, which they earnestly re-

[58]The sermon was duly printed by "Thos. Reading, for Evan Jones, Bookseller, Anno Domini 1700". It is reprinted in full in Steiner, *Maryland Historical Society Fund Publication No. 37,* pp. 99-122.

quest he would Personally make among them". The proceedings terminated with Bray's orders for the holding of future visitations on certain specified dates.[59]

Soon after the visitation Doctor Bray set sail for England[60] taking with him the Church act for which he now intended to obtain the royal assent. But on his arrival he found that the opposition of the Quakers was exceedingly strong, and in spite of a *Memorial Representing the Present State of Religion on the Continent of North America*[61] which he published to refute their arguments, the act failed to obtain the king's confirmation. It is in this reverse to his plans that Bray's character shows a resolute determination to surmount all difficulties and to persevere with his designs to a successful conclusion in the face of every opposition.

This (third)[62] defeat of the act again necessitated a new act to be introduced and passed by the Maryland Assembly, but on this occasion Bray drafted the bill himself which, after it had been three times amended, he prevailed on the Lords of Trade to approve on the understanding that it should be sent to Maryland and passed by the Assembly without alteration, and then returned to England for the royal assent. This arrangement was carried out and the Assembly passed the bill which was entitled "An Act for the Establishment of Religious Worship in this Province According to the Church of England, and for the Maintenance of Ministers". It received King William's assent in the following terms: "Have the Quakers the benefit of a Toleration? Let the Established Church have an Established Maintenance".

The new act contained safeguards for liberty of worship of the Quakers and Dissenters: it provided that every congregation of the Church of England, for the maintenance of whose minister a certain revenue was to be raised, was to be deemed to be part of the established Church; that each parish should have a vestry of at least six members whose chairman was to be the incumbent; and that every minister "presented, inducted or appointed" by the governor was to receive forty

[59]*c. f.* Hawks, *Ecclesiastical Contributions, Vol. II, Maryland*, Appendix, pp. 499 *et seq.* which contains a full transcription of the *Acts of Dr. Bray's Visitation Held at Annapolis, Maryland, May 23, 24, 25. Anno 1700*, as printed by W. Downing, London, 1700.

[60]It would seem that he must have sailed at the end of May (or early in June) as on 25 July he was present at a meeting of the S. P. C. K. in London at which he presented a memorial "containing the Reasons of his Return to England", *vide* the minutes of the meeting printed in *A Chapter of English Church History being the Minutes of the S. P. C. K. for the Years 1698-1704*, ed. by E. McClure, p. 73. His voyage must have been exceptionally speedy.

[61]London, 1700, reprinted in Steiner, *Maryland Historical Society Fund Publication No. 37*, pp. 157-173. The Memorial ably describes the condition of the Church in all the American Colonies and stresses the need for at least forty missionaries to carry on the Church's work there.

[62]*i. e.* the acts of 1692 and 1696 had already been defeated.

pounds of tobacco per poll as his emolument, out of which he was to pay one thousand pounds of tobacco yearly to a parish clerk. The sheriffs were directed to collect the ministers' tobacco.[63]

This measure remained in force throughout the whole provincial period of the history of Maryland, and it thus proved a lasting testimony to Bray's unfaltering energy and zeal.

After his return to England Bray wrote several circular letters to the Maryland clergy concerning his visitation and "to enforce such Resolutions as were taken therein". To these he added "A Course of Catechising to be Observed in the Plantations" which he published in 1701.[64] From the opening paragraph of the second letter[65] it is evident that Bray intended to return to Maryland, but forseeing that his affairs were "likely to retard his Return . . . for some time" he deputed some of the senior clergy of the province to act for him, authorizing them to convene their colleagues "at the appointed times", to visit the several parishes, libraries and churches, and to promulgate such instructions to the clergy as he might think fit to send them. In fact, Bray's intention to return to Maryland never materialized owing to his achievement of a new project and various other matters which greatly occupied his time.

FOUNDING OF THE S. P. G.

Doctor Bray's new project was a modification of his former scheme[66] for a chartered organization or society. The work of the S. P. C. K. had expanded into several branches and Bray now decided that one of these branches should be devoted solely to missionary enterprise overseas. As a result of his efforts the matter was taken up by Convocation with the cordial support of Archbishop Tenison and Bishop Compton, and on 13 March 1701 the Lower House of Convocation appointed a committee "to enquire into ways and Means for Promoting Christian Religion in our Forreign Plantations".[67] This committee held its first meeting two days later, and as a result of its recommendations Bray drew up a petition to the king in the following terms:

> "To the King's Most Excellent Majesty, the humble Petition of Thomas Bray, D. D.,
>
> "Humbly sheweth,
>
> "That the Numbers of the Inhabitants of your Majesty's

[63]Trott's *Laws*, pp. 171-9.

[64]Printed by William Downing, London, 1701. These letters are reprinted in Steiner, *Maryland Historical Society Fund Publication No. 37*, pp. 123-152.

[65]This letter is dated London, July 1, 1701.

[66]*vide, supra*, "A General Plan, etc."

[67]*History of the Convocation of Canterbury, 1700* [1701], A. & J. Churchill, London, 1702.

Provinces in America have of late Years greatly increas'd; that in many of the Colonies thereof, more especially on the Continent, they are in very much Want of Instruction in the Christian Religion, and in some of them utterly destitute of the same, they not being able to raise a sufficient Maintenance for an Orthodox Clergy to live amongst them, and to make such other Provision, as shall be necessary for the Propagation of the Gospel in those Parts.

"Your Petitioner further sheweth, That upon his late Arrival into England from thence, and his making known the aforesaid Matters in this City and Kingdom, he hath great Reason to believe, that many Persons would contribute, as well by Legacy, as Gift, if there were any Body Corporate, and of perpetual Succession now in Being, and establish'd in this Kingdom, proper for the Lodging of the said Legacies and Grants therein.

"Now forasmuch as Your Majesty hath already been graciously pleas'd to take the State of the Souls of Your Majesty's Subjects in those Parts, so far into Consideration, as to Found, and Endow a Royal College in Virginia,[68] for the Religious Education of their Youth, Your Petitioner is thereby the more encouraged to hope, that Your Majesty will also favour any the like Designs and Ends, which shall be Prosecuted by proper and effectual Means.

"Your Petitioner therefore, who has lately been among Your Majesty's Subjects aforesaid, and has seen their Wants and knows their Desires, is the more embolden'd, humbly to request, that Your Majesty would be graciously pleased to issue Letters Patent, to such Persons as Your Majesty shall think fit, thereby Constituting them a BODY POLITICK and CORPORATE, and to grant them and their Successors, such Powers, Privileges, and Immunities as Your Majesty in great Wisdom shall think meet and necessary for the Effecting the aforesaid Ends and Designs.

"And your Petitioner shall ever Pray etc.

THOMAS BRAY."[69]

The petition was duly acknowledged in the following memorandum:

"WHITE-HALL, April 7th, 1701.

"His Majesty having been moved upon this PETITION is graciously pleas'd to refer the same to Mr. Attorney, or Mr. Solicitor-General, to consider thereof, and Report his Opinion, What His Majesty may fitly do therein; whereupon His Majesty will declare His Further Pleasure.

JA. VERNON."[70]

[68]*i. e.* the William & Mary College, founded by Governor Nicholson and the Rev. James Blair, D. D., Commissary of Virginia.

[69]*Publick Spirit, Illustrated etc.*, pp. 35-7, footnote.

[70]*Ibid.* James Vernon (1646-1727) was King William's Secretary of State. In 1716 he was appointed one of the commissioners of the Great Seal. (See, *Dictionary of National Biography.*)

On the receipt of this acknowledgment Bray drafted a charter for the new society which was read at a meeting of the S. P. C. K. on 5 May.[71] At the next meeting (12 May) Bray's petition to the king "with other Papers relating to the Corporation to be erected for the Propagation of the Gospell in Forreign Parts" was read, and Archbishop Tenison promised a subscription of twenty guineas towards the cost of procuring the charter, and on 19 May the draft of the charter was again read, several amendments being made to it, and the names of the secretary and other officers of the new society were formally proposed and adopted.[72] Meanwhile the charter had received the royal approval, and on 16 June the Great Seal of England was formally affixed to it thereby incorporating the "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts."[73]

At the next meeting of the S. P. C. K. (23 June) the charter was laid before the Society and read by Bray, and it was resolved that the thanks of the Society should be given to him "for his great Care and Pains in procuring the Grant of the sd. Letters Patent". A committee (of which Bray was a member) was then appointed to ascertain from Archbishop Tenison (named in the charter as the first president of the S. P. G.) when and where he wished the inaugural meeting of the new society to be held.[74]

By the terms of the charter Archbishops Tenison and Sharp, Bishop Compton of London, and the bishops of Worcester (William Lloyd, who was also the Lord Almoner), Ely (Simon Patrick), Rochester (Thomas Spratt, who was also dean of Westminster), Gloucester (Edward Fowler), Chichester (John Williams), Chester (Nicholas Stratford), Bath & Wells (Richard Kidder), and Bangor (Humphrey Humphreys); William Sherlock, dean of St. Paul's (afterwards bishop of London); William Stanley, archdeacon of London; and eighty-three other named members (including Lord Guildford, Doctor Bray and most of the members of the S. P. C. K.) were incorporated. The charter also provided that the two archbishops, the bishops of London and Ely, the Lord Almoner, the deans of Westminster and St. Paul's, the archdeacon of London and the two Regius and Lady Margaret professors of divinity of Oxford and Cambridge should always be members of the Society.[75]

The first meeting of the S. P. G. was held on 27 June at Lambeth

[71] *A Chapter in English Church History, being the Minutes of the S. P. C. K. for the Years 1698-1704*, ed. by E. McClure, p. 132.

[72] *Ibid.*, pp. 133-4.

[73] The charter, in excellent condition, is preserved in the Society's archives.

[74] *A Chapter in English Church History being the Minutes of the S. P. C. K. for the Years 1698-1704*, pp. 138-9.

[75] The charter is printed in full in Pascoe, *Two Hundred Years of the S. P. G., 1701-1900*, pp. 932-5.

Palace. After the charter had been read the officers of the Society were elected and arrangements were made for the preparation of a seal and for drafting standing orders and bye-laws.[76] At the second meeting (held on 8 July at the Cockpit) the standing orders and bye-laws were passed which provided *inter alia* that there should be an annual sermon preached before the Society and that an oath "to faithfully and duly execute" their duties should be taken by its officers. It was also decided that the seal of the Society should be:

> "A Ship under Sail, making towards a Point of Land, upon the Prow standing a Minister with an open Bible in his Hand, People standing on the Shore in a Posture of Expectation, and using the Words: *Transiens Adjuva Nos,*"

and that the motto round the Seal should be *Sigillum Societatis de Promovendo Evangelio in Partibus Transmarinis.*[77] This device still remains unaltered and is known the world over as the emblem of "the venerable Society" which for nearly two and a half centuries "has been engaged in its work of evangelization and has a record unexcelled in history".[78]

Meanwhile Bray was still engaged in writing, and in 1702 he published the *Bibliotheca Catechetica, or The Country Curates' Library.*[79] In the following year he published a tract called *The Whole Course of Catechetical Instruction* to show the want of provision in many parishes of suitable reading matter to enable the clergy to instruct their congregations. This tract materially assisted his scheme of parochial libraries and it prepared the way for an act of Parliament "For the Better Preservation of Parochial Libraries in that Part of Great Britain called England" which was sponsored by (Sir) Peter King (afterwards Lord Chancellor and first Baron of Ockham)[80] in 1708.

FURTHER PROVISION FOR MARYLAND

By this time (1703) Bray had relinquished his original intention of returning to Maryland, and he therefore persuaded Bishop Compton to appoint a new commissary in his place. He chose as his successor the Venerable Michael Huitson, archdeacon of Armagh, who "out of pure Zeal to the Work of Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts

[76]S. P. G. *Journal,* Vol. 1, pp. 1-3.

[77]*Ibid.,* pp. 4-5.

[78]E. Legare Pennington, *Publication No. VII* of the (American) Church Historical Society, p. 41.

[79]*Vide* his biography in the *Dictionary of National Biography.*

[80]King was at this time M. P. for Beeshalton, Devon. In 1708 he was made Recorder of London and was knighted the same year. He published several ecclesiastical works including a *History of the Apostles' Creed with Critical Observations on its several Articles.* (See, *Dictionary of National Biography.*)

was very willing to bestow himself upon that Service".[81] Because of a recent case of a "scandalous" clergyman who had been deprived of his incumbency in Virginia by Commissary Blair and had then been inducted by the governor of Maryland to a living in the latter province, Bray represented to Compton that the new commissary for Maryland should be vested with the power of induction, the right of presentation only remaining with the governor. Compton agreed to this and proposed that the commissary should also be invested with the authority of a judge in testamentary causes which, at that period, was an office of an ecclesiastical nature.

In order to obtain the governor's approbation Compton invited Doctor Bray and Huitson to meet the governor, Colonel John Seymour,[82] at dinner at Fulham Palace. Seymour, however, seems to have become greatly annoyed at Compton's proposition, and on his departure from the palace in the same coach as Bray and Huitson he furiously upbraided the two clergymen for not having first approached him in the matter before mentioning it to Bishop Compton, asserting that Bray had endeavoured to trick him and that this was "such an Indignity, Injury & what not" that if Bray "did not wear a Gown he would have Satisfaction on him with his Sword". However, Seymour's outrageous behaviour had no terrors for Bray: "It is as well", he wrote, "that we have such an Asylum as the Gown, or rather, it is well for some, that upon that score they may so safely Bounce & hector and menace a certain Order of men as they please, without danger of return; which, if Chevaliers as well as themselves, I believe they would be more cautious of that sort of Treatment".[83] It is in the conclusion to his *Memorial,* in which he described this unpleasant scene with Seymour, that Bray shows that his long and arduous efforts for the welfare of the Church in Maryland had at length told upon even his unwearied zeal:

> "There must be, therefore, some great mystery in this Opposition to the having some Ecclesiastical person of Probity, Experience, and Gravity in his Province, to preside over the Clergy there, in order to preserve them from giving scandal to the Papists & Quakers, to introduce a good Discipline amongst them, to direct them in, & to keep them up to their Duty. A mystery of Godliness I am sure it is none; and since such a mystery it is, as must expose that poor Infant Church, after so much Cost and Care to nurse it up hitherto, to the Rage and reproach of its bitter Enemies; I trust in God those

[81] Bray's *Memorial,* Fulham MSS. printed in Perry, *Historical Collections of the American Colonial Church, Vol. IV, Maryland,* pp. 57-63.

[82] Seymour had recently been appointed to succeed Blakiston.

[83] Bray's *Memorial,* Fulham MSS., printed in Perry, *Historical Collections of the American Colonial Church, Vol. IV, Maryland,* pp. 57-63.

> whose concern it is will be able to disclose and defeat it, and even yet to preserve that poor Church; and with such I leave it. As for my own part, I have fought my Fight; I have finished my Course."

Bray's own reaction to this unhappy scene has been presented because of its bearing upon his resignation of the office of commissary. In actual fact, however, both Bray in proposing, and the bishop of London in approving, such a proposition had acted in seeming ignorance of the provisions of the charter under which Lord Baltimore held the province of Maryland as Proprietor. This charter placed in the hands of the Proprietor the right to create courts and appoint all judges. Bray ignored also the clear instructions of the Crown that probate of wills and induction of ministers were both to be granted by the governor of the colony. The commissary and the bishop were in effect asking the governor of Maryland that he give up to the commissary part at least of his rights as regarded probates of wills, and all his right to induct ministers into parishes. As the fees attached to these rights formed part of the perquisites of every governor the request of the commissary was an attack upon his pocket-book as well as upon his dignity. And the governor was very understandably angry about it.

About this time Bray (who was then living at Chelsea) wrote to Major Dent, attorney-general of Maryland, informing him of the proposed appointment of the new commissary and asking him to lay the matter before Thomas Smithson, speaker of the Maryland Assembly, of whose "great abilities & sound Judgment" he had a high opinion.

> ". . . out of that earnest zeal" [he wrote] "wherewith God Almighty knows my heart still burns for the good of the Province I would heartily wish you would renew that Law whereby you formerly settled the full Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction upon the Bishop of London's Commissary. Now there are two Reasons wherefor I have hitherto forborn to say anything about the settling that Jurisdiction & that I now urge you to settle it by Act of Assembly. The first is that so long as the settlement which concerned the Parochial Clergy was depending I thought it better & in their behalf to forbear attempting anything in the other mattter as well knowing I should find work enough to gain the great Point about the Ministers' Establishment. The second reason why I have spoke to it not till now is that I might then without the least appearance of Self interest solicit the Establishment of the Judicial office of Commissary on the Superintendant over the Clergy when I should have discarded any Pretensions to that Place myself. So long as the Law for Establishing the Church was depending I was contented to pass over that Titular character of the Commissary that I might with greater Advantage solicit the affair for you & this I say I was contented to do for Maryland

though it has kept me & my Family[84] 2½ years in Town & exposed me to such a vast expense as a Contest with the Quakers, who have a Publick purse, rendered unavoidable. . . ."[85]

MINISTRY IN LONDON

In 1706 Doctor Bray accepted the incumbency of St. Botolph Without, Aldgate, London, where he officiated until his death. He remained an active member of the two societies—the S. P. C. K. and the S. P. G.—and still devoted part of his time to writing. In 1708 he published a sermon entitled "For God or Satan" which he preached before the Society for the Reformation of Manners at St. Mary-le-Bow, and in 1712 he published his *Martyrology, or History of the Papal Usurpation* consisting of "choice and learned Treatises of celebrated Authors ranged and digested into a regular History", which was intended to be a supplement of Fox's *Book of Martyrs.* Bray had always been strongly opposed to Roman Catholicism and his *Martyrology* made a most seasonable appearance at a time when there were considerable fears of a restoration of the Roman Catholic James Stuart, the "Old Pretender".[86] Bray had intended to compile a second volume to this work but although he collected the materials at considerable expense he was unable to complete his design. These "Manuscripts Martyrological" he bequeathed by his will to Sion College. In 1714, on the death of Queen Anne, Bray expressed his "intense satisfaction" at the "Protestant Accession" of George I in a letter which is preserved in the British Museum.

Doctor Bray's later works included the *Directorium Missionarium* in 1726 which was shortly followed by his *Primordia Bibliothecaria*—a plan for enlarging the parochial libraries—which included "a method to proceed by a gradual Progression from Strength to Strength, from a Collection not much exceeding in value one Pound to an hundred Pounds". Towards the end of his life he wrote a short biography of John Rawlet,[87] and he reprinted the *Life of Bernard Gilpin*[88] by George Carleton, bishop of Chichester, London, 1628/9, and Erasmus' *Ecclesiastes.*

[84]Bray had married some years previously but enquiries have failed to reveal the date of his marriage or any facts about his wife, not even her names. He had two children, William and Goditha, who survived him; *vide* his (original) will which is preserved in the muniments of the Associates of the Late Rev. Dr. Bray. Mrs. Bray had presumably died prior to 1730 as she is not mentioned in his will which he made on 31 January of that year, shortly before his death. His daughter, Goditha, married James Martin of London; *ibid.*

[85]This letter is dated 10 March 1703. It is printed in Steiner, *Maryland Historical Society Fund Publication No. 73,* pp. 236-9.

[86]Although the Act of Succession had provided for the accession of George I, it was known that Anne personally favoured a restoration of her half-brother.

[87]The Rev. John Rawlet (1642-1686) was the author of the once famous *Christian Monitor* and other works. (See, *Dictionary of National Biography.*)

[88]The Rev. Bernard Gilpin (1517-1583), known as "The Apostle of the North" (of England), was famous for his outspoken sermons. (See, *Dictionary of National Biography.*)

ORGANIZATION OF THE "ASSOCIATES OF DR. BRAY"

In the meantime Bray's interest in schools for converting and educating the Negro slaves in the West Indies had received an added stimulus by the bequest of the Sieur D'Allone in 1723, of which mention has already been made.[89] Some months after D'Allone's death Doctor Bray suffered a severe illness from which he was not expected to recover, and on the advice of his friend, Lord Palmerston,[90] he appointed Lord Percival,[91] Robert Hales (formerly clerk of the Privy Council), his kinsman, the Rev. Stephen Hales, D. D., F. R. S.,[92] and William Belitha of London, to assist him in carrying out D'Allone's benefaction and to succeed him (Bray) as trustees in the event of his own death. These gentlemen thus became the nucleus of the association since known as "The Associates of the Late Reverend Doctor Bray," whose work of founding and supporting libraries for the clergy and lay members of the Church of England, and of assisting schools in the Bahamas, is widely known.[92-a]

WORK FOR PRISON REFORM

In 1727 Bray's humanitarian activities were directed to a new channel when one of his friends, who had made a casual visit to Whitechapel prison, described to him the wretched state of the unfortunate inmates. Bray at once decided to procure benefactions for the relief of prisoners, and he prevailed on his friends and other kindly-disposed persons to contribute funds for "Bread, Beef and Broth" on Sundays and occasional week-days for the prisoners in Whitechapel and Borough Compton gaols. At the same time he arranged that newly-appointed missionaries of the S. P. G. should visit the gaols to read and minister to the prisoners.

In the course of a few months Bray's benevolent activities focussed public opinion to the whole question of prison reform which James

[89]*Vide, supra,* footnote No. 27.

[90]Henry Temple, first Viscount Palmerston (1673-1757), was the son of Sir John Temple, speaker of the Irish House of Commons. He assisted George Berkeley, bishop of Cloyne, in his scheme for obtaining funds from the sale of the island of St. Christopher towards his proposed foundation for a college in the Bermudas. (See, *Dictionary of National Biography.*)

[91]John, Lord Percival, first Earl of Egmont (1683-1748), was the second son of Sir John Percival, Bart., and was made successively a baron, a viscount and earl. He was the first president of the trustees of the colony of Georgia. (See, *Dictionary of National Biography.*)

[92]Stephen Hales (1677-1761) was a distinguished botanist, physiologist and inventor. (See, *Dictionary of National Biography.*)

[92-a]For an account of the work of the Bray Associates among the Negroes of Colonial America, see, E. L. Pennington, "Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society," for October, 1938, Worcester, Massachusetts, U. S. A., 95 pp.; also for an account of the work of the Bray Associates in Virginia, see Mary F. Goodwin in Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church, Vol. I, pp. 148-152.

Edward Oglethorpe,[93] M. P. for Haslemere, was also advocating. Early in 1729 Oglethorpe brought the matter to the notice of the House of Commons and as a result a committee, with Oglethorpe as chairman, was appointed to hold an "Enquiry into the State of the Gaols". During this inquiry Bray became acquainted with Oglethorpe and discussed with him the alleviation of the condition of debtors who were confined in prison. According to Thomas Coram,[94] Bray suggested to Oglethorpe, Lord Percival, and James Vernon (son of James Vernon, secretary of state to King William III),[95] that they should form a new association to found a colony for debtors and necessitous poor who could find no employment in England.[96] (This conversation is stated to have occurred a few days before Christmas 1729, within six weeks of Doctor Bray's death.) Be this as it may, the matter was taken up shortly after Bray's death at a meeting of his "Associates" held on 5 March 1730 when Oglethorpe proposed that the "Associates" should apply for part of a legacy of a Mr. Joseph King to establish therewith "a charitable Colony for the better Maintenance of the Poor of the City of London".[97] The meeting adopted this scheme and on 30 July they petitioned King George II for a grant of land south of Carolina for the new colony. After two years delay a royal charter was issued which established the colony of Georgia, so named after George II.[98] The trustees named in this charter were mostly the members of Doctor Bray's Associates, but the Georgia trustees soon separated from the parent body.[99]

LAST ILLNESS AND DEATH

Meanwhile, in January 1730, Bray had become seriously ill; he was now in his seventy-first year and no doubt his many and varied activities, which he continued even in old age, had impaired his health. The question of a legally constituted association to succeed him and his original "Associates"[100] in their humanitarian designs now assumed a grave importance in view of his increasing weakness, and on 15 Janu-

[93]Oglethorpe (1696-1785) was the third son of General Sir Theophilus Oglethorpe. An account of his life will be found in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

[94]Thomas Coram (1688?-1751), philanthopist and ex sea captain, was one of the founders of Georgia. See, *Dictionary of National Biography*.

[95]James Vernon (the younger) sat as M. P. for Crickdale, Wilts. In 1715 he was made clerk of the Privy Council in ordinary. See, *Dictionary of National Biography* [under James Vernon (the elder)].

[96]*Vide Letters of Thomas Coram*, Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings, LVI, pp. 20-1, 47-8, quoted in R. C. Strickland's *Religion and the State in Georgia in the Eighteenth Century* (Columbia University Press, 1939.)

[97]Minutes of the Associates of the late Rev. Dr. Bray, III, 6.

[98]*Ibid.*, III, 16.

[99]*Ibid.*, III, 29-65.

[100]*i. e.* Lord Percival, the two Hales and Belitha.

ary they drew up a deed of appointment which recites the Sieur D'Allone's bequest and appoints several new "Associates" of whom Oglethorpe was one.[101] It was by virtue of this deed that the "Associates" officially adopted their title, which was confirmed—and their authority legally recognised—by a decree of chancery in the following year.

The appointment of his "Associates" was one of Bray's last official acts, and on 15 February—exactly one month later—he entered into rest. He was buried in his church of St. Botolph Without, Aldgate, where his name is perpetuated on one of the pediments of the columns supporting the ceiling in the lists of incumbents of the church. In 1901, the bi-centenary year of the founding of the S. P. G., the Cutler Society placed a tablet to Doctor Bray's memory in the church of St. Michael, Chirbury. The inscription is as follows:

IN MEMORY OF THE
REV. THOMAS BRAY, D. D.
BORN AT MARTON IN CHIRBURY
BAPTIZED IN THIS CHURCH 2 MAY 1658
PRINCIPAL FOUNDER OF
THE SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIAN
KNOWLEDGE IN 1698 AND OF
THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION
OF THE GOSPEL IN 1701
THIS TABLET WAS ERECTED IN THE
BICENTENARY OF THE LATTER SOCIETY
JANUARY 1901

[101]The original deed is perhaps the most interesting document in the possession of Dr. Bray's Associates. It is signed by Bray, the two Hales and Belitha but Percival's signature is wanting, although the wax seal opposite the place for his signature is extant. The reason for this omission may be that Percival was absent from London and that it was considered unwise to wait because of Bray's failing health. The new members appointed by the deed were:—The Hon. Edward Digby (son of Lord Digby), Col. George Carpenter, Edward Harley (brother of Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford), James Vernon (the younger), Edward Hughes, "Judge Advocate of H. M. Court Martial", Robert Hucks, Thomas Tower "of the Inner Temple", Roger Holland, John Laroche, Major Charles Selwyn (ancestor of G. A. Selwyn, first bishop of New Zealand), Robert More, (Sir) Erasmus Philipps (son of Sir John Philipps, Bart. *vide* footnote No. 40, *supra*, who succeeded his father in 1736), John Campbell, James Lowther (afterwards first Earl of Lonsdale ?), the Rev. Richard Bundy (chaplain in ordinary to the King), William Sloper, ... St. John, Henry Hastings, ... Anderson, Thomas Carpenter, Captain Thomas Coram, ... Smith, "of the Temple", the Rev. Digby Cotes, "University Orator", the Rev. Samuel Smith, the Rev. Arthur Bedford (miscellaneous writer, *vide Dictionary of National Biography*), the Rev. John Burton, D. D. (theological and classical scholar, *vide Dictionary of National Biography*) and the Rev. Richard King. *N. B.* The three blank Christian names are thus shown in the original deed.

CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE S. P. G. TO THE AMERICAN WAY OF LIFE

*By Frank J. Klingberg**

THE transit of culture to new societies is a subject of ever-increasing interest and particularly timely at this moment. In the material sphere, the problems of the proper adjustment of land, labor, and capital, one to another, in new lands, received the attention of political scientists and economists from the days of John Locke to the decades of Edward Gibbon Wakefield in the second quarter of the nineteenth century. The problems of intellectual and cultural history are more subtle and difficult to analyze and the facts more difficult to establish.

It is a basic fact in American history that a complete society representing all of the elements of the homeland has never migrated across the Atlantic. In the days of the Civil Wars in England, the Puritans came to New England, the Cavaliers to Virginia and Maryland, each body a selection from English life as a whole, or an expulsion of a powerful element. The force of the expulsion brought families with their "chests of culture" and the idea of staying permanently. The French Huguenot and the German Pietist brought as much of their home civilization with them as they could under the circumstances of their eviction. They contributed their crafts and hereditary abilities to the pool of American civilization.

Between the great migrations of the Puritans and Cavaliers in the seventeenth century and the mass migrations of the nineteenth century, few of the upper middle class, or squires from the English county families, crossed the ocean. For them conditions at home during this long interval were satisfactory. In the 1830's and 1840's, Wakefield induced members of the county families to migrate to Australia and New Zealand, and they again carried the culture of leisured families. They supported libraries, were devoted to the Anglican Church, to sports, and all of the amenities of English social life. Charles Kingsley

*Dr. Klingberg is professor of History in the University of California at Los Angeles. He is an authority on the work of the S. P. G. in America and this article is the fruit of his long-time study of the history of the Venerable Society.—*Editor's Note.*

dreamt of the happiness of being a bishop of South Australia. Samuel Butler lived for a time in Australia, Wakefield died in New Zealand, and Sir George Stephen, the first man knighted by Queen Victoria, and the friend of Harriet Beecher Stowe, died in South Australia.

This permanence of settlement was in sharp contrast with the life of the entrepreneurs who went to the West Indies, determined not to make a permanent home there. In the Caribbean region, the adventurer or the planter, whether in French or in English colonies, was traditionally tolerant in religion and in morals, but in Quebec and in New England religious uniformity was the ideal. In brief, West Indian society, in contrast to that of the continental colonies, had all the features of commercial enterprise, and religious controversy did not fit into a regime of business. The Jews of Jamaica, from the earliest days, were not discriminated against and their synagogues were to be found throughout the islands.

The British government, in all of its dealings with the colonies, normally took action only when compelled to do so. This *laissez faire* or non-intervention was well expressed by Zachary Macaulay, the great anti-slavery leader and the father of Lord Macaulay, when in speaking of Sierra Leone he said, "The British government will accept anything we propose provided we save them the trouble of thinking."

It is interesting that in the year 1800, the humanitarian leaders of the Clapham sect, Anglican evangelicals, who were so active in missionary enterprise, in the distribution of the Bible, in anti-slavery and many other programs, knew more about the British empire than the government itself. Their lives were spent in informing themselves about Africa, the West Indies, and the slave trade which linked the two regions. They went on long tours and surveys, and noted the exploration of the Niger, for example, by Mungo Park. A striking fact is that Thomas Clarkson visited 317 ships in search of a man who could verify a particular point. He read the case histories of 20,000 sailors to prove that the slave trade was not the nursery of seamen, but their mass grave. Whole fortunes were sunk into the British humanitarian programs at one point or another. These philanthropists understood the empire and necessarily gauged public opinion at home. And they did not dare to be mistaken in their facts. Error would invalidate their whole evidence.

With this light on the later empire, let us return to the condition of the colonial world in the year 1700. At that time the contact with the infant colonies was all important. They were too small and too new to stand alone. Land was abundant, labor scarce, capital brought from home declined in the depreciation of the colonial currencies. The

immigrant was normally a poor man when he left home, whether evicted for political or religious reasons or by personal economic distress, and he had to make every inch of his way in the wilderness. The enrichments of life at home, whether open to him or not, did not exist in the colonies for anybody.

It was the task of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts to fill the great vacuum which the trader, the military man, or the royal governor did not fill. First of all, the educated clergy sent to the colonies, or taken from the colonies for education and ordination and returned to the frontier, filled the interval of the eighteenth century when, as already pointed out, the man of culture and leisure was no longer propelled overseas from England.

The genius of Thomas Bray and his successors lies in their complete understanding of the frontier problem of intellectual poverty in all its ramifications. With superb intelligence, they took steps to remedy this colonial poverty of the mind and soul. No body of men has ever more thoroughly analyzed the spiritual and intellectual needs of a new society than did Bray and his associates.

Their major objective was the equalization of Christian culture on both sides of the Atlantic. To accomplish this feat, libraries were provided, schools were established, King's College (Columbia University) and Codrington College in the West Indies were founded, and a stream of outgoing commissaries, clergy, catechists, and teachers was maintained for nearly a century. It was the aim of the S. P. G. to establish local churches and schools and to make them independent of mission support. This intention was successful in South Carolina, for example, where, before the American Revolution, the Society was able to withdraw, leaving the parish churches supported and largely in the hands of American residents, many born in the colonies.

While it is true that the S. P. G. missionary was obliged to take a special oath of allegiance to the king, it was never the intention of the Society to tie the loyalty of the American colonists to Britain by mechanical means. The projected establishment of an American episcopate was designed primarily to make possible the full exercise of religious rights of the churchman, including confirmation of communicants, ordination of the clergy, and education of the layman. It is quite true that the Society appealed for funds in Great Britain on the grounds that it was "good business" to raise the religious and cultural level of the colonials, who seemed, in the opinion of many of the missionaries, in danger of reverting to primitivism. Such a disaster would be an obvious spiritual loss, and, in addition, would bring in its train irresponsibility and a deterioration of citizenship which might make business

relationship between colony and mother country precarious. Repudiation of debt, inflation, land speculation, and unorthodox experimentations along economic and social lines, were sufficiently frequent to make the British public generous for a great variety of reasons.

The problem of the Indian, and of his Christianization and civilization, convinced the wisest pro-consul on the ground, Sir William Johnson, that the civilization of the Iroquois was practicable if the Indians were not confused by the activity of a multitude of religious sects. Sir William, therefore, increasingly threw his weight into the program of the S. P. G. It was not merely unity of control by the Imperial government, with firm management of Indian affairs on a long-term basis, but the presentation of one religious faith which seemed a necessary program for the Indian. For reasons beyond the control of the Society, the Indian was the victim of the white man's land hunger and his march westward. The heroic efforts of the Society laid the pattern for a later and more successful regime in Canada. The Indian had a continent to lose and nothing could stay his fate.

The Negro, however, had lost his continent before he arrived and he, therefore, joined the white man, even in servitude, in mastery of the wilderness. Temperamentally not resentful and, as a race, free from tension and hate, the Negro had the gift of happiness, of willingness to work, and of identifying himself with the new locality as his home, and the white man as his friend. Four hundred white men, in recent years in the African Sudan, have been able to control 4 million Negroes, an illustration of the Negro's willingness to work and to co-operate. His qualities made him the world's best slave, despite certain insursections even in the continental colonies. The 13 million Negroes in the United States today are Christian. This is the monument to the Society's success despite the fact that they represent all religious bodies. The Society saw early that such work as Elias Neau's in New York and Francis Le Jau's in South Carolina would in time meet with complete success.

Once the American citizen understands that he owes more to his churches in the building of a civilized society than he does to the state, the importance of the early framework of the community becomes clear. His early church was his school. In it, he exercised the civil liberties, the right of free worship and assembly, of free speech and press. All were indivisible from the fundamental right of freedom of worship.

The early structure of our country thus becomes the story of every church and of every rooted family. A man's identification with political life may have been slight, mainly that of annual tax-paying, but his church was peculiarly his center of life and a work of his own creation.

He invited the S. P. G. missionary, who did not come without the solicitation of the community, and provision for some of his needs by the settlers. The American Church was thus a voluntary enterprise and its survival during the American Revolution was insured by the fact that men wanted it. It is only now when we are challenged to analyze what is actually meant by the American way, that we survey its origins and find that the Church so largely molded our institutions. Education, humanitarianism, the civil liberties, tolerance, our welcome to and education of the foreigner in our midst, our attitude toward the suffering of other countries; all must be seen as derivatives of the churches, which were the creators and bulwark of democracy. The Christian teaching is that of equalitarianism of the soul.

To estimate the work of the S. P. G. in the American colonies, there is a most fruitful device, for here statistics are eloquent. In a century when a book was an heirloom, and when a shelf in the old secretary held the book possessions of several generations, the establishment of libraries laid the very foundations of intellectual life. The request for Bibles, prayer books and religious tracts was not a mere form but, as we know from numerous diaries, was an expression of hunger for the literature of the mother country. One specific case among many may be cited: that of Lady Nugent, daughter of a loyalist and the wife of the colonial governor of Jamaica, from 1801-1806, who not only read her Bible and prayer book constantly, but made her own attempt to use both for the instruction of the Negro slaves.

The library was, however, not merely a gift to the colonies, but was, in the judgment of Bray and his colleagues, an indispensable factor in inducing men of education to go to the frontier. Each clergyman, therefore, was given his chest of books for the use of himself and his parishioners "unto all future generations." The careful instructions as to cataloguing books to prevent "loss and imbezelment" was not to impede circulation. For one of the advantages of a lending library, wrote Bray in the manner of Poor Richard, was that "a Book which is Lent is more speadily read over and better digested than books of their own." Suggestive of Bray's care and foresight is the fact that of 211 volumes sent to Boston in 1698, 110 were still in the Boston Athenaeum two hundred years later, in 1896.

Most of the books were, of course, concerned with theological points and doctrinal disputes. But Bray was convinced that the thorough clergyman must be equally interested in works on natural religion and moral philosophy as well as on "the various and different Oeconomics." Of special value as preparation for an American mission, were books of "Byography, Voyages, and Travels, and likewise Chronology." Books

of nature would provide the churchman with a weapon against the deists, for such knowledge "had two Handles, whereby it may be made use of as well to Good as to Evil purposes." Likewise the "virulent" books written by the enemies of the Established Church required careful reading, "For as the Excellent Plutarch . . . shows, the best Rules and Measures for an exact and prudent Conduct are to be taken from our Enemies, who do so narrowly watch our Failings." The importance of this wide base for knowledge, as outlined by Bray, cannot be overlooked.

The Society was generous in sending books to colleges over which it had no control and almost no influence. In 1714 it sent several theological works to Yale. In 1733, in response to the entreaty of Dr. Samuel Johnson, the S. P. G. missionary in Stratford, Connecticut, and later the first president of King's College, Dean Berkeley (bishop of Cloyne, 1734, until his death, January 14, 1753) presented Yale with about 1,000 volumes. The collection included well-chosen works in Greek and Latin literature, in the Fathers, in Church history, in divinity and philosophy, in mathematics, medicine and natural history, in English and French literature, and in history—altogether, according to an early historian of Yale, "the best collection of books which had ever been brought at one time to America." Its value was computed at about £500, which in today's purchasing power would be the equivalent of about $10,000.

Harvard was twice the recipient of "goodly gifts" from the S. P. G. The first time was in 1748, through the liberality and at the request of Bishop Berkeley. The second occasion, in 1764, followed the loss of Harvard's library by fire. The Rev. East Apthorp, former S. P. G. missionary in Cambridge, represented to the Society "that it was a fit occasion to show Christian spirit by contributing to the repair of this loss in a colony wholly unprovided with public libraries." The Society responded with a gift of books to the value of £100—the equivalent today of about $2,500.

In 1754 King's College, now Columbia University, was founded, largely under Anglican influence, but not under Anglican control. Four years later the S. P. G. contributed 1,500 volumes to the library of that New York college.

The caliber of men sent to the colonies may be seen in the excellence of their reports. They were men who, in the new world, saw much, not little. In brief, the whole social scene was their field of report. We now, therefore, have in their 50,655 manuscript pages, the most important single source for an understanding of American character, the processes of Americanization, and the broad story of American culture.

As a mine of information, these documents are inexhaustible, forming the greatest body of non-governmental materials up to the year 1783. Their value for the history of Great Britain is almost equally great.

There are observations on plant and animal life, and specific information on agriculture and business, prices and colonial currency, intercolonial communication, the transit of ideas, growth of population, racial relations with Negroes, white relations with Indians, contact with the French, the Spaniards, and the immigration of Germans, Swiss, and French Huguenots as well as much light on the Dutch and Swedes. The material is of the greatest value to men in the fields of history, Anglo-colonial relations, political science, economics, sociology, Americanization, anthropology, medicine, health and disease, and foods. The exactness of the information cannot be overemphasized. To cite one example, in the founding of libraries, of which thirty-nine key ones were established by the S. P. G., selection of titles and particular editions of books were specified. At the same time there is revealed the American's hunger for books, and the techniques of securing the return of stolen books by an appeal to conscience.

In the realm of ideas, no movement in philosophy, such as deism, no conflict with Quakers or Calvinists, no friction with Anabaptists or Methodists, no "threat" from Roman Catholics, no improvement in editions of books used in schools, goes unnoted in these records.

It is imprtant to remember that the 353 S. P. G. missionaries in the American colonies during the eighteenth century were compelled to fill out and send to England two elaborate questionnaires every year, and were encouraged to write frequently about every conceivable question that might arise. They were constantly advised from London and asked to carry out definite policies as a group and as individuals. Often graduates of Oxford, Cambridge, Trinity College (Dublin), Edinburgh, and Glasgow, as well as of American colleges, they reported with a skill worthy of a Swift, a Defoe, or a Fielding, sketching the colonial scene in unforgettable terms.

They were not writing to be obscure, but to be revealing. Their task was to interpret colonial society and its customs to the people of England, and in doing that they furnished the finest body of exact information on all subjects that exists in the English language for the eighteenth century. So well did they do this job that the study of their records alone will give us more complete information about the eighteenth century than we can gather about the first half of the nineteenth from any one source. Once the connection with England was broken, the records were never again so comprehensive.

From the standpoint of English history, as against colonial history,

the intricate web of contact of the Society in England was as great or greater than in the colonies. The money for the colonial venture was collected in England and, therefore, summaries were compiled and, in the form of abstracts of proceedings, circulated in the 15,000 parishes and all the dioceses of England and Wales. Bound with this abstract usually went the annual sermon, which was a report to the nation on the conditions in the colonial world. For the eighteenth century, these records add nearly 6,749 pages to the 50,000 manuscript pages of the S. P. G.

The greatest honor that could be paid an eighteenth-century clergyman was to be asked to deliver one of these sermons. Burnet, Berkeley, Butler, Warburton, and Shipley, are a few of the men who give us an insight into the English mind and English opinion of the colonial world. The bishops were amazingly direct. Pointing to the great profits made in trade, it was declared, in one instance, that £1,000 each would be a fit recompense to humanitarian projects for the success achieved in business by wealthy Londoners. Moreover, the English personnel had to be won for the colonial field, and the problems of distance and absentee management appear in all their reality across the Atlantic.

Victor Hugo Paltsits recently stressed the importance of these documents for the new light they throw on the social order of the eighteenth century in the Anglo-American world, and stated that the S. P. G. was the greatest single influence in "promoting a humanitarian culture in the English-American colonies." As the organization specifically charged with the task of building a civilized society, it was as creative in this field as was the East India Company, for instance, in founding a business empire in India.

On the matter of the long-term value of these documents, it may be stated again that they are inexhaustible, and will be studied by scholars from all the fields stated above as long as there is an interest in the England of the eighteenth century and the colonial world of that time, from Newfoundland to Barbados, from Nova Scotia to the Mosquito Shore. They do not belong to one man, but to the guild of scholars for generations.

When the vast materials of Church archives have passed beyond the scholar into the folk knowledge of the people, then every man will take pride in the fact that, from the log church to the cathedral, the American churches were peculiarly the people's creation. They were largely voluntarily built, voluntarily supported, either by funds from England or from local sources. Stemming from the churches were the influences that aided in the building of practical democracy, of humanitarianism, of civil liberties, of tolerance, of the pressure upon private

benevolence which established hospitals, schools, colleges, missionary societies, and philanthropic enterprises.

Our history is constantly in process of discovery and should include in full proportion the contribution of the churches. This is primarily the responsibility of each individual church, through its archivists and societies. Knowledge of the part of churches in building our country would fortify our youth, particularly in the college years. Pride would be aroused in what every denomination has wrought. We have lost so much knowledge of our heritage through the failure of our countrymen to explain to their children, and of native-born citizens to make known to the recent refugees from intolerance, that in America the church has not been the enemy of civil liberties, but their guardian. Prominent authors speak against Jefferson's "slogan" of religious freedom as outmoded, and as not understood by European nations. The film, because of the limitations of its form, necessarily chooses the dramatic incident of violations of a tradition rather than the elusive elements of our heritage—the intangibles which are of slow growth.

Thus it has somehow come about that a widespread ignorance as to the American way prevails even in the most friendly countries. Through our own knowledge of and insistence upon our inherited and indigenous culture, other nations may find our history enriching and a profitable subject of serious study. The building of the United States of America is the greatest fact of modern times. Our most original contribution is that of a free Church in a free State. A Supreme Court decision has just summed up in historic words the practice and tradition that have kept us free from tyranny of the mind.

Here the S. P. G. early showed its wisdom. As soon as the community could take over a church, it withdrew to new fields. It was not the idea to keep a mission field dependent, but to aid the Church to self-support and independence. This is the American way. The S. P. G. had a cornerstone in the important century, the eighteenth, when our political separation occurred. America, which derives so largely from seventeenth- and eighteenth-century England, owes an incalculable debt to the S. P. G. Without it, there would probably have been no Episcopal Church, or at best a weak one. When in a minority, as in New England, the Society built up a hardy body of men who survived the American Revolution and elected Seabury for the position of bishop of Connecticut. In South Carolina, where the Society had practically withdrawn, its work naturally lived on in American hands.

The uncovering of the history of the part played by the S. P. G. in building the American way of life has come at a fortunate time. The history of our country is in process of being restored to the schools

and to the folk knowledge of our people. There will be new understanding of what the Anglican Church meant in the pioneer community. Emphasis will be placed on the colonial period. Without knowledge of our own history, English history and the British heritage would be unintelligible. The history of England would be that of a strange "foreign" country, without the link of our own clear understanding of our own heritage therein and what we did with it. In government we built the first federal system. In religion, the free Church in a free State. Without monarchy, hereditary caste, or a State Church, we made our contribution to the riches of the nations. Lord Bryce, fifty years ago, noted the national habit of close study of our history as one which gave us unity and strength.

In a forthcoming publication, *The Warning Drum,* the writer as an editor has pointed out the strength of the Anglican Church in an analysis of broadsides issued against Napoleon in 1803, when he was poised at Dunkirk. It is shown in the tremendous opposition to the Napoleonic regime on religious grounds. The age of pietism in England, it is true, coincided with that of the goddess of reason in France, but the long background of the Anglican Church counted heavily. In emphasizing historical continuity the British have been a wise people. In these broadsheets, two references to the past are made to one for the future.

Our earlier history, then, should show in full proportion the part of the churches and of the great missionary societies. We can recapture these times through the S. P. G. records. We have told the military and political events of our three centuries. We have neglected intellectual history because it is so much more difficult to discover and to present. Speeches in parliaments, battles and the spectacular episodes have overshadowed the daily life of the people, the slow spread of civilization. Now, by the side of the reports of the boards of trade and plantations and the official reports of the royal governors, we can place the rich records of the S. P. G., the living monument of Thomas Bray.

THE REVEREND TIMOTHY CUTLER, D.D.
1684-1765

First President of Yale College
Missionary of the S. P. G. in Massachusetts
Rector of Christ Church, Boston

From the Mezzotint by Peter Pelham, 1750
Property of Christ Church, Boston, Massachusetts

DIFFICULTIES AND DANGERS OF PRE-REVOLUTIONARY ORDINATIONS

*By Mary Kent Davey Babcock.**

FOREWORD

NOTHING has so dissipated the mists of two hundred years and put into focus the towering figure of Timothy Cutler as have the terse but vivid pages of Samuel Johnson's English diary. The pen is the pen of Johnson but the spirit is the spirit of Cutler; for Johnson and Brown, twelve years Cutler's junior, everything revolved about the man whom they looked upon as guide, philosopher and friend. Through its pages pass and repass bishops and archbishops, deans and college dons, disputatious Arians, preachers in flowing gowns, dispensing the word of God from ancient pulpits, zealous proponents of colonial missions in an ever-shifting kaleidoscope against the background of 18th century London, its churches and theatres, its inns and coffee houses, museums, book shops and noble historic monuments.

In the nourishing soil of the England from which he had sprung, Timothy Cutler moved a man among men, a scholar among scholars, a Churchman among Churchmen. If it be true that we are a part of all that we have met, then this experience, unique in the annals of the colonial Church, deserves more than the usual cursory notice in Church histories. It is an integral part of the records of Christ Church, Boston.

HISTORIC Christ Church, Boston, where the signal lanterns of Paul Revere were displayed on April 18, 1775, is the oldest Episcopal Church building in New England and the oldest public building in the city of Boston. Isolated in the midst of a shifting alien population it continues to carry on in its 220th year with renewed vigor.

In 1912 Bishop Lawrence raised a fund for repairs and restoration, he himself becoming rector. He was succeeded by the Rev. William H. Dewart who began systematic work among the Italians, of whom some were Waldensians and who had no church home in

*Mrs. Babcock is Parish Historian of Christ Church, Boston, and a member of the Library Board of the Diocese of Massachusetts.

Boston. The beautiful Chapel of St. Francis of Assisi now stands under the shadow of Christ Church, its venerable protector. After Dr. Dewart became rector emeritus in 1927, the Rev. Francis E. Webster, secretary of the diocesan convention for many years, became rector, until by vote of the proprietors in 1939 the bishop of the diocese assumed the rectorship, Mr. Webster becoming vicar. On his death, Bishop Sherrill appointed as his vicar the Rev. William H. P. Hatch, professor in the Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge, under whom Christ Church continues to be a *House of Prayer for all People* as Dr. Cutler prayed it might be in his first sermon, December 29, 1723.

THE CALL TO TIMOTHY CUTLER

September the twelfth, 1722, was commencement at Yale College. The class numbered eight; the president or as he was then called, rector, the Rev. Timothy Cutler and one tutor, Daniel Brown, made up the entire faculty. It was indeed the day of small beginnings, yet no commencement at Yale has ever precipitated such a war of words as did this now historic event.

The exercises had passed in an atmosphere tense with repressed curiosity and suspicion. For many months rumors had been flying thick and fast all over the New Haven Colony—rumors of covert meetings of ministers in the college library, of a second Episcopal church about to be built in Boston, to which Rector Cutler was to be called, of renewed efforts to foist the Book of Common Prayer, even a bishop, on the people of New England. These low rumblings were soon to reverberate in loud thunder claps, for now Rector Cutler finished his commencement sermon with an unaccustomed phrase, *"And let all the people say, Amen!"*[1]

Immediately from the trustees came a request to the rector and his friends to meet them in the college library the next day and in writing make a definite statement of their views and opinions. Besides Timothy Cutler and Daniel Brown, this involved five Congregational ministers in the New Haven Colony.[2]

On September 13, 1722, before the "Rev. Fathers and Brethren present in the Library", Rector Cutler read to the first astonished and then indignant trustees, a formal statement, in which Cutler, speaking for the seven signers of the paper, stated that "some of them doubted the validity and the rest were persuaded of the invalidity of Presbyterian ordination in opposition to the Episcopal".

[1]Psalm 106, v. 46. Called by many writers a "Prayer Book formula", not however in any prayer in the American Prayer Book.

[2]Signers of the letter to the trustees were Timothy Cutler, Daniel Brown, Samuel Johnson, James Wetmore, Jared Eliot, John Hart and Samuel Whittelsey. Except Cutler, all were Yale graduates.

In his historical discourse at the 150th anniversary of Yale College, President Woolsey said,

> I suppose that greater alarm would scarcely be awakened now, if the Theological Faculty of the College were to declare for the Church of Rome, avow their belief in transubstantiation and pray to the Virgin Mary.

Today such an event would pass almost without comment by the greater part of the population of New England, but in 1722 there had been nothing comparable to stir up religious rancor since the days of Anne Hutchinson and nothing was to equal it until Whitefield and the Wesleys turned the world upside down before the century was three quarters gone.

Timothy Cutler having been chosen pastor of the Congregational church in Stratford, in an effort to stem the tide which was sweeping that town into the arms of the Church of England, through the efforts of the converted Congregational minister John Read, had now to face the anger of those whom he had apparently betrayed by going over to the camp of the enemy.

In an endeavor to clarify the situation, the governor of the colony, Gurdon Saltonstall, suggested a debate in the college library which took place the day after the opening session of the General Assembly, before whom the matter had been laid. But the "gentlemen on the Dissenting side" were ill prepared to cope with men who had spent years in sifting and weighing evidence to confirm their contention. When speeches became acrimonious the debate was closed by the governor, who explained he had only meant it for a friendly conference. The trustees finding that four of the seven signers had no intention of changing their minds, immediately "excused" Rector Cutler from any further service to the college. The three clergymen who had only doubted the validity of their Presbyterian ordination returned to their respective meeting houses and never were heard from in protest again.

On October 2 the following letter was despatched to Mr. Cutler by a trusty hand.

> "Boston, Ye 2d Octor, 1722.
>
> Mr Timothy Cutler,—We, the Subscribers, congratulate you and the Gentlemen your Friends on Account of your late Declaration, and we pray to God it may have that happy Influence on this Country which some Men so much dread and deprecate; while others Expect some Benefit from it.
>
> Sir,—We being appointed a Committee for taking in Subscriptions to build a New House for the Worship of God at ye

North end of Boston (our present building not being capable to contain the People of the Church), and having the hearty Concurrence and prayers of the Reverend M^{r} Sam^{l} Myles in our undertaking, We have thought proper to acquaint you that we would have you come to Boston; and (by what we have learnt from the Gentlemen of the Church) We take upon us to Assure You that a Passage shall be provided for You, and all things proper to support the Character of a Gentleman during your Stay in London, wither (wth the Approbation of the Rever^{d} M^{r} Sam^{l} Myles) We Shall Send our humble Petition to Our Right Rever^{d} Diocesan, My lord Bishop of London, that after the Church which is now design'd to be erected, He would be graciously pleased to grant his license to You to preach in, the People here being willing to Maintain You.

We desire that M^{r} Brown and M^{r} Johnson may come down with You in Order to accompany you to London (w^{ch} Gentlemen shall likewise be our Care as to procuring them a Passage and doeing them all the Services in our power). We make no Question, but that you will all be very kindly received by the R^{t} Rev^{d} the Bishops, both the Universities and the Hon^{ble} Society; and altho your Sincerity (M^{r} Cutler) is called in Question by the Reverend M^{r} Henry Harris,[2-a] Yet we hope Your future behaviour will fully Demonstrate Your Integrity. And if that Worthy Gentleman should by some wicked Men be unhappily persuaded to persist in his Opinion, Yet notwithstand^{g} We assure You S^{r} that your coming to Boston by the Month of November will be very gratefull to the Church here, and you all may depend upon a hearty wellcome from the Rever^{d} M^{r} Sam^{ll} Myles, the whole body of the Church, and in a particular Manner from, Gentlemen,

Your Friends and very humble Servants,

John Barnes.	John Gibbins.
Tho^{s} Greaves.	Tho^{s} Selby.
Geo: Cradock.	Geo: Monk.
Anth: Blount.	

P. S. We assure you that Care shall be take of yo^{r} Spouse and Children (either here or where else you please till Your Return from Britain). We expect a possitive Answer by the bearer of this Letter."

The speedy answer requested was forthcoming and with the jubilant George Pigot, S. P. G. missionary newly arrived in Stratford, wishing them Godspeed and predicting to the Venerable Society a general debacle of Presbyterianism, the three travelers set forth for Boston on October 23. It took five days to reach Bristol, Rhode Island, where

[2-a]The Rev. Henry Harris, assistant minister of King's Chapel, Boston,—a contentious priest who continued his opposition to Dr. Cutler. For more about him, see, HISTORICAL MAGAZINE OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH, Volume XI, pp. 163, 164, 165, 167-168, 174, 175, 176-178.

on Sunday, October 28th, 1722, Johnson records in his diary, "I first went to church". From town to town, from village to village, across New England the news of the Connecticut defection had preceded them. To the wailing and lamentation from every pulpit the press added its voice, bewailing that the Connecticut "Fountain and Nursery of Truth and Learning is now become corrupt, groaning out Ichabod under its second rector, Timothy Cutler." Judge Sewall commenting on a sermon in the Old South declared that the "Connecticut apostacie" would bring dire vengeance on New England. They certainly took their religion hard in those days.

However Mr. Cutler and his friends had little time to nurse any bitterness caused by the almost universal condemnation of their course. They were buoyed up by the fact that they were obeying the dictates of conscience and reason, and doubtless the rector-elect of Christ Church had a busy three days preparing for what proved to be, to state it mildly, a "boisterous and uncomfortable voyage". Captain Lithered in the *Mary* was eager to be off. On their last day in Boston Johnson enters in his diary—

> "Nov. 4, 1722. Tomorrow we venture upon the great ocean for Great Britain God Almighty preserve us."

ENGLISH SOJOURN

Crossing the Atlantic in the cockle shells of the 18th century was no pleasure trip. *"Wind and weather permitting,"* a phrase we associate today with sail boats and air craft, meant just that to the captain of a sailing vessel two centuries ago. If the elements were favorable, the captain would deposit his passengers at the haven where they would be, if not, then at the nearest port, as did Captain Lithered in 1722.

A scrap of paper in the Christ Church archives, shows that thirty-four subscribers had enabled the committee arranging for the passage to London for the three travelers, to provide generously for their comfort and we get a glimpse into the necessities of an ocean voyage in the 18th century, even to the luxury of fresh meat on the hoof from another yellowing paper.

A subscription for expenses to London of Cutler, Johnson & Brown _ _	
Pay^{d} Capt^{n} Lithered for M^{r} Cutler &^{c} Passages	30 0 0
Pd for 3 beds to Col. Fitch	8 8 _

"	Mr. Cutler		
	19 moydeors att £3-10 each)		
"	one Guinnea	2-13	69 3 –
"	for 2 Shotes		2 0 9
			109-11-9

It was Samuel Johnson, methodical and painstaking, who has left in a handwriting so small it takes good eyes to read it today, a *"Journal of the voyage to, abode at, and return from England."* Thanks to this journal we know what the three passengers did through five weeks and four days of their voyage, what books they pored over, what days they read prayers (Sundays, Wednesdays and Fridays), how the *Mary* tossed and rolled through many a "grievous" storm, "three last week", say the notes on one day, how at last "by God's goodness", they landed at Margate on the Isle of Thanet[3], how they were entertained there at Capt. Lithered's home and, pilgrims of another day, on December 15, 1722 took horse and came to Canterbury.

The contrary winds which landed them on the Kentish coast proved nevertheless to be favoring breezes for the travelers. It was Saturday and there being no stage coach for London for three days, they gladly seized the unexpected opportunity to worship on Sunday for the first time on English soil, at England's most historic shrine. Their introductory letters being confined to the business in hand, i. e. getting ordination at the hand of the bishop of London, they had none to any one in Canterbury. After spending most of Sunday at services in the cathedral, they ventured on Monday, having like any 20th century globetrotters, "ascended the 275 steps of the tower where they inscribed their names", to present their respects to the dean of the cathedral. It appeared that the chapter was in session. When the servant at the deanery announced them simply as "some gentlemen from America come over for Holy Orders, who are desirous of paying their duty to the Dean" they were met with outstretched hands by Dean Stanhope saying, "Come in Gentlemen, you are very welcome. I know you well for we have just been reading your declaration for the Church!"

In the one day left to them they were dined and wined, shown the great cathedral library and "again took a further view of the city, especially the churches, walls and Tower" and the next day took coach and came to Rochester and Chatham and there lodged.

In London on the 20th they settled down in Fetter Lane to the

[3]Thomas, sixth Earl of Thanet was the largest contributor to the Building Fund. Highly connected and influential, he had been a member of the Privy Council and Lord Lieutenant. Through his chaplain he sent the three candidates 10 guineas apiece to buy books. He died in 1729.

serious business before them. Their Christmas in London is characteristically described.

> Dec^r 25. This day, being Christmas, we went to church at St. Dunstan's, where we heard D^r Jenks from 85 Ps. 10, 11 "Mercy and Truth" etc. from whom we received the Holy Eucharist, after which we took coach and went to dine with Sir Edw^d Blacket (having been invited by the Lady Blacket)[4], from whence, in our return, we were at evening service in St. Ann's church.[5]

Everywhere in London titled and influential persons swung into their ken. Mr. Cutler had brought with him a letter signed by the rector of King's Chapel and the committee, recommending the three postulants, especially the former president of Yale, to the good offices of the bishop of London. For more than a month however they went from interview to interview invariably treated with kindness and condescension by those who "took notice of their affair". In this they were aided by a Boston acquaintance, John Checkley,[6] who arrived in London early in January. Checkley who had earned from his enemies such epithets as *firebrand* and *highflyer* kept the *Crown & Blue Gate,* a book shop on the site of the present Sears building, which was the rendezvous of churchmen and wits. He enters the Christ Church story later on in one of those controversial storms which made him the target of the law. London born, he was a great addition to the party in their sightseeing tours.

It was January 18 before the candidates were presented to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, under whose aegis all expected eventually to enroll, Checkley included. Johnson's description of this event is characteristic of many of the entries in his journal.

> Sir William Dawes,[7] Abp. of York was in the chair, who with the whole body of the clergy present received us with a most benign aspect, and treated us with all imaginable kindness. From thence we went with Dr. Berriman, chaplain, be-

[4]Lady Blacket's name appears on the list of subscribers to the Building Fund. Throughout their London sojourn the travelers received many courtesies at her hands. She was the daughter of Rev. Thomas Jekyll D. D. of St. Margaret's, Westminster. Both the Rev. Thomas Jekyll and John Jekyll, collector of his Majesty's port of Boston were nephews of Sir Joseph Jekyll, master of the rolls and John Jekyll was one of the signers of the letter to the bishop of London. Lady Blacket died in 1756.

[5]St. Anne's Blackfriars.

[6]For Checkley, see Edgar L. Pennington, *The Reverend John Checkley* (Hartford, Church Missions Publishing Co., Publication No. 180, 1935).

[7]William Dawes, bishop of Chester (1708-1714); archbishop of York (1714—d. April 30, 1724).

> fore D[r] Jno. Robinson,[8] Bp. of London, who received us very graciously and took kind notice of our affair.

Four days later January 22, the heavy hand of sickness was laid on Mr. Cutler who fell sick of the smallpox, forcing his friends to seek other lodgings which they did at the *Two Fryars by the Bolt and Tun* in near-by Fleet Street. It was March 11 when at last they took coach and went to Hampstead "to wait on Mr. Cutler home, who (I thank God) is recovered". They celebrated his return among them by going to the Lincoln's Inn Theatre where they "had the comedy of the Merchant". (By one W. Shakespeare, perhaps?)

During Mr. Cutler's enforced absence Johnson and Brown had been baptized, "having grave doubts whether baptism among the Presbyterians is valid". It was now Mr. Cutler's turn to validate his Presbyterian baptism, which occurred at St. Sepulchre's on March 20. Two days later at St. Martin's-in-the-Fields after morning prayer they were first confirmed and then ordained deacons.

On March 31, the great object of their journey was achieved. Johnson's journal records the day's events.

> This day at 6 in the morning, Sunday, at the church of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, at the continued appointment and desire of William,[9] Lord Abp. of Canterbury, and John, Lord Bishop of London, we were ordained Priests most gravely by the Right Rev[d] Thomas,[10] Lord Bp. of Norwich, who afterwards preached an excellent sermon from Rom. ii. 4,—"Or despisest thou," etc. I dined with Mr. Massey in company with Mr. Godly and Mr. Bull, clergymen. Afternoon I preached for Mr. Massey at St. Alban's, Wood Street, on Phil. i. 27. We all spent the evening with Mr. Low.

Sandwiched in between various appointments relative to the serious business in hand, we get tantalizing glimpses of social life in 18th century London. Even the names of inns and lodgings carry a flavor of the London that was to the colonials the center of civilization. And the tempo of their sojourn never slackens. They were indefatigable sightseers, as one day's record, many times repeated will show. They "did" London with vigor and unflagging interest.

> This day we were in the morning to wait on the Bishop of Norwich. Afternoon we were at Clerkenwell; from thence we went with Mr. Checkley to see the Tower, where we viewed

[8]John Robinson, bishop of Bristol (1710-1714); bishop of London (1714—d. April 11, 1723).

[9]William Wake, archbishop of Canterbury (1716—d. January 24, 1737).

[10]Thomas Green, bishop of Norwich (1721-1723); transferred to Ely (1723—d. May 18, 1838).

> the armory, both horse and foot, the artillery and regalia, and the trophies of Sir Francis Drake, and everything to be seen there; after that we ascended the monument, one hundred and two feet high, by three hundred and forty-five steps. Glorious things!

There was many a dish of tea and many a bottle drunk in their calls on clergy, friends, booksellers, their physician, etc. They went to Tyburn to see Counselor Layer hanged; they rambled over Hampton Court and Windsor; visited the "good people at Bedlam"; they kissed the young princesses' hands after prayers at the palace of St. James; gazed at Archbishop Laud's own handwriting at Westminster Abbey; they saw Dr Edmund Gibson[11] confirmed as bishop of London at St. Mary-le-Bow and later installed at St. Paul's; viewed with awe a remarkable gun that went off eleven times a minute, and a wondrous clock that performed all sorts of music; watched with the crowd the progress of the bishop of Rochester[12] from the Tower to the House of Lords; strolled in the pleasant meadows beyond Moorfields, and I know not how many times they "took a view of the stupendous fabric of St. Paul's", or "ascended to the top of the dome by five hundred and fifty steps". To them it was not only an "amazing mass of stones" but "one of the finest buildings in the world." And here on March 5, 1723, in the evening they were at Sir Christopher Wren's funeral. (Not Mr. Cutler however, for he was not yet recovered).

The small pox was now to claim a second victim in the Christ Church party. On April 4, Daniel Brown was stricken. He lived until Easter Even, April 13, his death casting a gloom over their Easter joy. Classmate and friend of Johnson, the two were as David and Jonathan in their affection for each other. On Easter Tuesday he was buried at St. Dunstan's-in-the-West attended by a large number of the clergy.

Commenting on the death of his own son by small pox on the same errand in 1756, Samuel Johnson writes:

> Ten lives out of fifty one lost in those who went to England for Ordination in a little more than forty years. It is a greater loss to the Church here in proportion than she suffered in the times of Popish persecution in England.

[11]Edmund Gibson was bishop of Lincoln (1716-1723); bishop of London (1723—d. August 4, 1748).

[12]Francis Atterbury (1662-1732), man of letters, politician, bishop of Rochester from 1713 until his deprivation, 1723. He had been arrested and sent to the Tower for conspiring in favor of the restoration of the Stuarts to the English throne. Parliament deprived him of his spiritual dignities and banished him for life. He died in exile in France. See *Encyclopaedia Brittanica* (11th edition), Volume II, pp. 880-882, for a good biographical sketch.

The travelers had now been in England four months. The object of their journey attained they began to think of the return voyage. But first there were sermons to be preached, invitations gladly accepted to assist at church services and more sightseeing. I think no church then standing in London was left out of their itinerary. How their eyes must have been filled with the glories of the re-born London in which Wren had played such a part, soaring arches, dim distances, lofty naves, yet never one word of all this does Johnson drop into his swift moving narrative. Once indeed, after Wren's funeral at St. Paul's, he adds the single word "statues". No mention of the English spring, the cuckoos and the daffodils and primroses, yet they must have been all about them in the "pleasant fields to walk in". Life was earnest, life was real to these men; there was one idea in their minds, one object in life—the Church, its offices, its mission and their relation to it all.

And then came a pleasing interlude, two journeys out of London. On May 20 Johnson records, "This day we took coach and came to Oxford and lodged at the Angel Inn," and here, as in London, they plunged into the business of seeing everything. One day's record shows that their rapid pace suffered no slackening.

> May 24th.—This day we were first at Queen's College with Mr. Trognair; thence we went to Merton to wait on Mr. Moseley; thence to Trinity College to dine with Dr. Dobson, President, who brought us into the schools where Dr. Potter,[13] Bp. of Oxford, was Moderator to a Theological Dispute on Baptism and Prayers for the Dead; thence we went with Mr. Atkinson to the Printing House and the Museum, where we saw all the curiosities of the air-pump and other engines, the skeletons, mummies, medals, jewels, antiquities, etc. . . .

The 26th Mr. Cutler and Samuel Johnson "received their diplomas for the degrees". (S. T. D. for Mr. Cutler, an A. M. for Samuel Johnson). Blenheim, the Bodleian Library, the "glorious theatre", picture galleries, the printing house, dinners with "sundry bishops", filled their days. They supped and dined with the fellows of Queen's College and Corpus Christi and on May 31 "took coach and came to London."

On Thursday in Whitsun-week after a dish of tea with Mr. Berriman (of the S. P. G.), in company with a great number of the clergy at Gresham where the charity children meet, they went in procession before the children to St. Sepulchre's where they listened to a sermon and "the children to the number of 4 or 5000 sung gloriously—the finest emblem of heaven in the world." And the next day they were off to Cambridge.

[13]John Potter, bishop of Oxford (1715-1737); archbishop of Canterbury (1737—October 10, 1747).

The Cambridge experiences were crowded into a week, more dishes of tea were drunk, more dinners and bottles consumed, they saw everything and on June 11 they received the same degrees as from Oxford *pro forma,* with other recipients and were back in London on the 15th.

On June 26 the bishop of London gave them their license certificates as missionaries of the S. P. G., Christ Church, Boston, for Dr Cutler, the church in Stratford, (not yet built) for Samuel Johnson. This was the last formality necessary before their impending departure, but on July 4, James Wetmore,[14] one of the co-signers of the famous letter to the Yale trustees, surprised them by his arrival in London.

They delayed long enough to assist him to complete all the necessary business dependent on securing his license as an S. P. G. missionary and while waiting dropped in to the bishop of Man's "Tryal"[15]

[14]James Wetmore (December 31, 1695-May 15, 1760) was ordained deacon and priest by the bishop of London in 1723. He was a S. P. G. missionary in New York, especially at Rye (1726-1760).

[15]Thomas Wilson (1663-1755), bishop of Sodor and Man (1698-1755), to whom J. S. M. Anderson in his *History of the Colonial Church* (Vol. II, p. 502) applies the term "saintly," was one of the leaders of the Church who modify the exaggerated charges concerning the religious decline of 18th century England. His episcopate was marked by a number of reforms in the Isle of Man. New churches were built, 16 lending libraries were founded in cooperation with the Rev. Dr. Thomas Bray, and books were published in Manx—his own *Principles and Duties of Christianity* (London, 1707) being the first book published in that language. He also encouraged farming, and set the example of planting fruit and forest trees.

In order to restore discipline in the island he drew up in 1704 his well known *Ecclesiastical Constitutions.* The judgments of his courts often brought him into conflict with the governors of the island, and in 1722 he was imprisoned for a time. Wilson appealed to the Crown, and it was the "Tryal" in connection with this controversy which Cutler and Johnson attended. The governor was replaced, the jurisdiction of the civil and ecclesiastical courts was better defined by statutes, and Wilson and later governors got along together amicably.

Bishop Wilson was a loyal supporter of the S. P. G. and a warm friend of the colonial Church in America. His *Essay Towards an Instruction for Indians,* published 1740, was much in demand by the S. P. G. missionaries. The book was prompted by his interest in Oglethorpe's founding of the colony of Georgia. Anderson thus summarizes (Vol. III, pp. 324-325) the *Essay*:

> "The first nine dialogues are occupied in giving instruction preparatory to Christian Baptism; and the remainder in explaining the nature of Baptism and the Supper of the Lord; the Creed; the Commandments of the Moral Law; and the Lord's Prayer. Each dialogue [between an Indian and a missionary] terminates with a short and earnest prayer, bearing upon its specific subject; and the whole is concluded with a summary of select passages of Holy Scripture, and prayers for the coming of Christ's kingdom; for the conversion of the heathen world; for faithful prosecution of the missionary's work; and for the blessing of those whom he instructs. The Essay is characterized throughout by the simple language, and lucid reasoning, and glowing piety, which mark the other writings of Bishop Wilson: and the fervour and unction of its concluding prayers impart to it a value which is beyond all price."

Wilson's episcopate of 57 years is one of the longest on record. That of Bishop William White in the American Church (1787-1836) was 49 years. [For Thomas Wilson, see *Dictionary of National Biography,* LXII, pp. 139-142.]

at Westminster Abbey, received the solemn apostolical benediction of the archbishop of Canterbury, took part in Mr. Wetmore's ordination, and on Friday, the 26th of July, Johnson makes his final London entry.

> This day we took our leave of London and came down to Gravesend, Mr. Manning and Mr. Wetmore with us.

Windbound after a bad storm, they landed on the Isle of Wight and viewed Newport and Carisbrook Castle, scenes associated with the martyr King, Charles I. As they finally sailed out of sight of land Johnson wrote, somewhat sadly perhaps, *Farewell to England.*

On September 23, after eight weeks of storm after storm on the gale-driven Atlantic, Captain Ruggles made port at Piscataqua in New Hampshire and the weary passengers made haste for Boston over land. Bad weather still followed them for Sewall notes in his diary on September 24, "Dr Timo Cutler arrived today in the great Rain from Newbury."

Both men were invited to preach at King's Chapel where most of the contributors to their journey worshipped; Dr. Cutler, the elder and the more spectacular convert to episcopacy, preached first on September 29 and Mr. Johnson on the first Sunday in October. The texts chosen by each preacher shed a revealing light on their future accomplishments. Voiced from the pulpit of King's Chapel by the ex-Congregationalists, the pontifical pronouncements of Paul to Titus "For this cause left I thee in Crete" may well have forced a wry smile to the lips of the Congregational hierarchy, remembering their familiarity with the Cretan beasts, gluttons and liars bewailed by the young missionary. Modest Mr. Johnson's text, "Only let your conversation be as becometh the Gospel of Christ" foreshadows the tactful approach of the young missionary to his task.

Respects having been paid to their benefactors, the real business for which the English sojourn had been the preparation pressed upon them. Dr. Cutler urging on the completion of his half finished church was able to enter it on the last Sunday of 1723, and Mr. Johnson laying plans for raising funds to build one in Stratford, Connecticut, to which he had been appointed as missionary by the S. P. G., opened his church on Christmas Day, 1724.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES

TIMOTHY CUTLER
1684-1765

Timothy, fifth son of Major John Cutler, a well-to-do citizen of Charlestown, Massachusetts was born May 31, 1684, and baptized the

following day in the Charlestown Congregational church. Young Timothy reputedly learned his letters under the tutelage of the local schoolmaster, Samuel Myles, an association which was to be cemented a quarter of a century later when schoolmaster Myles, who had become rector of King's Chapel, laid the first stone in Christ Church, Boston, of which his erstwhile pupil was to be rector for forty-two years.

Entering college at an early age, Timothy Cutler received the degree of B. A. from Harvard in the class of 1701. Six months later a second degree brought him an offer of a church in Dartmouth, Massachusetts, an offer he refused, his biographer says wisely, as the Massachusetts parish lacked unanimity in its church polity. His piety and scholarly attainments brought him in 1708 a call from the Congregational Church in Stratford, Connecticut, largely in an effort to stem the alarming tendency toward the Church of England. The undercurrent however, gathered impetus and in 1719 Mr. Cutler was called as resident rector or president of Yale College, in near-by New Haven, as the best exponent of Congregational orthodoxy. It was the old story, he who came to scoff remained to pray, for convinced with several others of the superiority of Episcopal ordination, he was "excused" from further service to the college in 1722. There followed an invitation to become rector of a church to be built in Boston, including payment of expenses for the journey to England to secure ordination at the hands of the bishop of London.

Back in Boston in September 1723, he found his church still unfinished but on the last Sunday of the year, December 29, he opened Christ Church with the prophetic words, "My house shall be called a house of prayer for all people". Dr. Cutler's rectorate lasted forty-two years, until his death in 1765. A brilliant Oriental scholar, wise administrator and faithful parish priest and missionary, he strove unceasingly for unity among the scattered parishes of New England through the medium of regular convocations of the clergy. What he failed to accomplish in life came to fruition in 1766, the year after his death, when annual diocesan conventions became the rule.

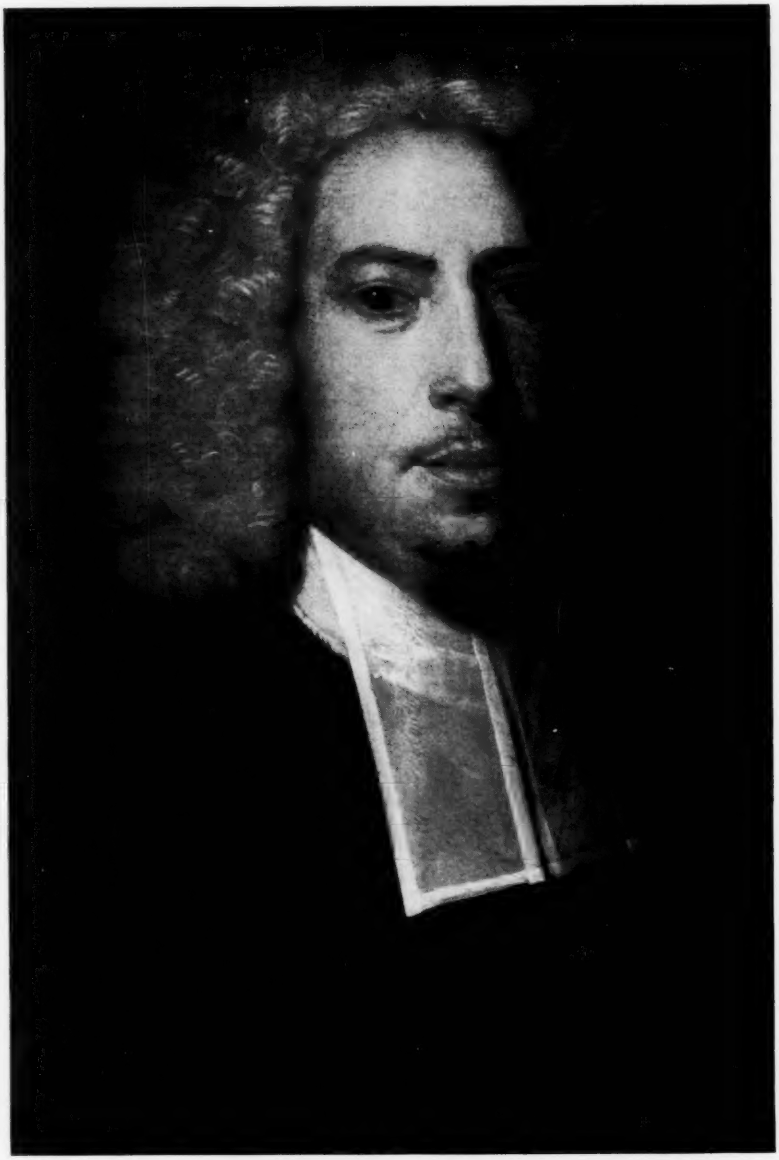
It took the cataclysm of a political revolution, however, to realize Dr. Cutler's other dream of a bishop for the colonies, but even his wildest hopes could never have forecast two bishops of Massachusetts as rectors of Christ Church—Bishop Lawrence and Bishop Sherrill—one from Harvard, his Alma Mater, and the other from Yale of which he had been the honored president.

SAMUEL JOHNSON
1696-1772

Samuel Johnson, son of Samuel and grandson of William Johnson, both deacons in the Congregational church, was born October 14, 1696, in Guildford, Connecticut. His immigrant ancester William Johnson, a Cambridge University graduate, came from Yorkshire, England, with his four sons and settled in Connecticut in 1641. Facilities for higher education in that colony were meager, but after passing from one unsatisfactory tutor to another, Samuel Johnson received his bachelor of arts degree in 1714 from the Saybrook Institution. Like many college-bred youths of his generation, he became a schoolmaster. When a college was located, after much controversy, in New Haven in 1718, Johnson, with Daniel Brown a tutor, as colleague, served as faculty of what was to become Yale College. Diplomas granted by the Saybrook Institution were as of Yale by subsequent decree.

When it became necessary to have a resident head of the college the Reverend Timothy Cutler of the Stratford church was appointed to the post in 1719, Daniel Brown remaining as tutor, the two forming the entire faculty. Johnson then returned to the Congregational church at Guilford, but with the other seekers after truth continued the meetings in the Yale College library. The storm broke in 1722 when both Cutler and Brown were "excused" by the trustees from further service to the college. This severed all connection with Congregational orthodoxy and Johnson was included in the Boston invitation to seek ordination in the Church of England.

Back in America in 1723, Johnson had before him a much more difficult task than Dr. Cutler, for he had not only to get a church built, but to organize missions in an unfriendly atmosphere. How well he succeeded is now a matter of Church history, for from the diocese of Connecticut came the first American bishop, Samuel Seabury. Throughout his life Samuel Johnson kept up his English contacts, especially with the great lexicographer, whose name he shared, and the bishop of Cloyne, with whom as Dean Berkeley in Newport, he had been privileged to exchange views on many aspects of Church life. But his influence extended even farther afield, for in 1754 he became the first president of another seat of learning, King's College in New York, now Columbia University. On the feast of the Epiphany, January 6, 1772 Samuel Johnson, great scholar, zealous missionary and servant of God, rested from his labors.



THE REVEREND SAMUEL JOHNSON, D.D.

1696-1772

Missionary of the S. P. G. in Connecticut
First President of King's College (now Columbia University)

From the Portrait by John Smibert, Courtesy of Columbia University

DANIEL BROWN
1698-1723

The third and youngest member of the trio whose journey to England for ordination was financed by the Christ Church committee was Daniel Brown, tutor under Timothy Cutler at Yale and co-signer of the famous declaration for episcopacy. His short life affords meager material for the biographer for although Johnson's diary reveals a personality of great charm and promise, what we actually know may be summed up in a few lines:

Daniel Brown was born April 26, 1698, the son of Daniel and Mary (How) Brown, and was graduated from Yale in 1714. In 1715 he became assistant to Samuel Cooke, rector of Hopkins Grammar School, New Haven, and succeeded him at the end of the year. He was appointed tutor in the College of New Haven (Yale) in September 1718. In this post he remained until, with Cutler and Johnson, he set forth on the momentous journey to England from which he was never to return. That he was included in the Christ Church invitation betokens keen perception on the part of the committee of the young man's talents.

After Mr. Cutler's recovery from the small pox, the three candidates were able to consummate the business for which they had been preparing since their arrival in England. In the Church of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields on March 31, 1723 all three were ordered priests at the hands of the bishop of Norwich acting for the bishop of London.

But for Daniel Brown fate intervened. Four days later he came down with the same malady which had so nearly carried off Mr. Cutler. His friends thinking him well on the road to recovery, at the end of Holy Week went off on a trip to Greenwich only to find on their return that their beloved friend had left them forever. In grief and humility Johnson bemoans the fact that he, so unworthy, should be spared while his friend, the better man, was taken.

The Easter they had so eagerly anticipated was overshadowed with their personal loss. On Tuesday in Easter week, 1723, in the church yard of St. Dunstan's-in-the-West surrounded by some thirty of the neighboring clergy, Daniel Brown was laid to rest. It was a far cry from the quiet and peace of elm-shaded New Haven to noisy Fleet street with its pent house stalls and raucous-voiced vendors crying continually, *What d'ye lack, gentles,* to the passers-by. Here were the church yard book stalls where the three friends had browsed, spending the sovereigns which the generous Earl of Thanet had contributed to the three candidates to buy books. Perhaps it was not unfitting that these same book stalls should be so near the lover of books.

All his life long Johnson mourned the friend of his youth. Nearly a quarter of a century later, writing to his only surviving son after the death of his other son William of small pox in London where he had gone for ordination, Johnson recalls the memory of his "dear friend Mr. Brown who was certainly the best of us three."

The loss to the Colonial Church of such potentially valuable material was but a small part of the enormous price paid for the withholding of missionary bishops by the refusal of the British government to allow the mother Church, which had fostered the great enterprise of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, to bestow the episcopate upon the American Church until after the Revolutionary War.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

ANDERSON, JAMES S. M.,
The History of the Church of England in the Colonies and Foreign Dependencies of the British Empire (3 volumes, London, 1856).

BATCHELDER, CALVIN R.,
A History of the Eastern Diocese (2 volumes, Claremont, 1876).

BEARDSLEY, E. EDWARDS,
The History of the Episcopal Church in Connecticut (2 volumes, Boston, 1883).

BEARDSLEY, E. EDWARDS,
Life and Correspondence of Samuel Johnson, D. D. (Boston, 1887).

Boston Gazette.

Boston News Letter.

CHANDLER, THOMAS BRADBURY,
The Life of Samuel Johnson, D. D. (New York, 1805).

CHRIST CHURCH, BOSTON,
Unpublished Archives.

DEXTER, F. B.,
Yale Biographies.

DUANE, C. W.,
A Historical Sermon: Christ Church, Boston.

EATON, ASA,
A Centennial Sermon, 1824.

FOOTE, HENRY W.,
Annals of King's Chapel (2 volumes).

GODWIN'S *London Churches* (2 volumes).

MANROSS, WILLIAM W.,
A History of the American Episcopal Church (New York and Milwaukee, 1935).

McCONNELL, S. D.,
History of the American Episcopal Church (New York, 1890).

PENNINGTON, EDGAR L.,
Anglican Beginnings in Massachusetts in HISTORICAL MAGAZINE OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH, Volume X., pp. 242-289.
The Reverend Samuel Myles, ibid., XI, 154-178.

PERRY, WILLIAM STEVENS,
The History of the American Episcopal Church, 1587-1883 (2 volumes, Boston, 1885).

SIBLEY'S *Harvard Graduates.*

SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL IN FOREIGN PARTS,
Abstracts of Proceedings.

WINSOR, JUSTIN (ed.),
Memorial History of Boston (4 volumes).

YALE UNIVERSITY,
Archives.

To Charles K. Bolton, Esq., senior warden of Christ Church, Boston, for twenty-five years and librarian of the Boston Athaeneum for the same length of time, I am indebted for many helpful suggestions.

Henry Nichols, the First Residential S. P. G. Missionary to Pennsylvania

*By Mary Clement, M. A.**

HENRY NICHOLS, one of the forgotten Welshmen of the first half of the 18th century took a very prominent part in the religious and educational life of Pennsylvania and its neighbour state, Maryland, nearly two hundred and fifty years ago.

He was a native of Cowbridge, Glamorganshire, and an old pupil of the grammar school during the headmastership of the Rev. David Watkins who ruled the school from 1669 to 1698. He matriculated at Jesus College, Oxford, 11 March, 1696/7, aged 18, and graduated B. A. in 1701. He is described in the college register as the "son of Jon. Cowbridge, Co. Glam." The vicar of Llanblethian (Cowbridge) from 1665 to 1717 was the Rev. Jonathan Nichols, and Henry was probably his son, though no record of his baptism can be found in the church registers. Henry Nichols, himself, had a son named Jonathan.

The most noted of all the old scholars of Cowbridge Grammar School is Sir Leoline Jenkins (1623-1685) who became principal of Jesus College, Oxford (1661-1673), judge of the admiralty (1665) and secretary for state (1680-4). In his will he founded two fellowships at Jesus College, Oxford, open to those born in the dioceses of St. David's and Llandaff, preference to be given to scholars from Cowbridge Grammar School. The holders of these fellowships were bound to take Holy Orders, and afterwards, either to go to sea as Navy chaplains, if summoned by the Lord High Admiral of England, or if not required for that service, then to the colonies, if called upon by the bishop of London.

The first two Jenkins' fellows, Henry Nichols and Robert Powell were appointed in 1702, both scholars of Cowbridge Grammar School. Robert Powell does not seem to have complied with the conditions of the fellowship which he held from 1702 to 1707. He was headmaster of Cowbridge Grammar School 1704-1721, rector of Sully 1711, and vicar of Llantwit Major 1721. He was one of the chief supporters of the S. P. C. K. in Glamorganshire.

In 1701 the S. P. G. (Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts) was founded as an independent branch of the S. P.

*The author is principal of the Girls' County School, Bridgend, Glamorganshire, Wales.

C. K. (Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge), with the object of sending missionaries to the colonists of North America and to the Negroes and Indians of those parts. Both Societies were founded by Dr. Thomas Bray, a native of Shropshire and an old scholar of Oswestry Grammar School.

The S. P. G. is now the oldest missionary society in the kingdom and Henry Nichols was sent out under its auspices in 1703 as the *first residential missionary* in *Pennsylvania.* Two others, George Keith[1] and John Talbot went as *itinerant* missionaries in 1702. Talbot, however, remained in New Jersey, and died there, 1727.[2]

Mr. Bob Owen, Croesor, states that 12,000 Welshmen emigrated to Pennsylvania and Virginia between 1650 and 1700, thousands of them being monoglot Welshmen. In a thirty miles radius from Philadelphia there were a number of Welsh centers. Dr. Evan Evans, a native of Carno, Montgomeryshire, rector of Christ Church, Philadelphia (1700-18), with his assistant minister John Thomas, founded a number of branch churches in these parts. In a report to the S. P. G. in 1707 he writes:

> "From time to time I have visited Chester, Radnor, Oxford, Montgomery, Merioneth, etc., but Montgomery and Radnor next to my beloved Philadelphia had the most considerable share in my labours where I preached in Welsh once a fortnight for four years till the arrival of Mr. Nichols, Minister of Chester in 1704."

The church at Radnor is still in existence, and this year celebrated its 228th anniversary, for though it was founded in 1700, the first church was not built until 1715. It is now known as St. David's Church, Devon, Penn., and has recently taken part in sending an ambulance to Great Britain. Christ Church (founded 1695) is not only the Mother Church, but is still one of the chief parishes of Philadelphia.

It is interesting to note that the *first act* of the S. P. G. was to send a great Welsh Bible and Welsh Common Prayer Book to the Welsh congregation in Pennsylvania. They were sent towards the end of 1701 and probably to Dr. Evans.

Henry Nichols was appointed to Chester in 1703 and ministered chiefly at Chester, Concord, Radnor and Montgomery. His church at Chester is described as of very good brick fabric and one of the neatest on the continent, being adorned with decent furniture and hand-

[1]For the definitive biography of Keith, see Ethyn Williams Kirby, *George Keith: 1638-1716* (New York & London, D. Appleton-Century Company, 1942, pp. 177).

[2]For the definitive biography of Talbot, see Edgar L. Pennington, *Apostle of New Jersey: John Talbot, 1645-1727* (Philadelphia, Church Historical Society, 1938, p. 217).

some pulpit and pews. The members were very regular and constant in divine worship. They contributed £60 a year towards Mr. Nichol's support. This with £20 a year derived from the fellowship was equivalent to £400 a year of our money in 1939 pre-war. Mr. Nichols continued here, with success in his work, until 1708; when with the permission of Henry Compton, bishop of London (1675-1713), he removed to the neighbouring state of Maryland. In a letter to the S. P. G. he states that he could not speak the Welsh language fluently and therefore found difficulty in ministering to his Welsh congregation.

Ten years after, 15 August, 1718, Sir John Philipps of Picton Castle is asked by the Society,

> "to recommend a proper person able to preach in Welsh and English, to be sent as a Missionary to Oxford and Radnor in Pensilvania."

The missionary, who was sent at that time was Robert Weyman, a native of Pembroke and a student of Jesus College, Oxford. He ministered in these centers from 1719 to 1728; afterwards he moved to Burlington, West Jersey, where he died in 1737. Griffith Hughes, M. A., F. R. S., a native of Towyn, Merioneth, was a missionary at Radnor from 1732 to 1736. Later he was appointed rector of St. Lucy's, Barbadoes, West Indies, where he became the chief authority on the natural history of the Barbadoes.

In 1708 Nichols was appointed rector of St. Michael's Parish Church, Talbot County, Maryland, and for many years all records of his life there were lost, but in June 1878 when workmen were employed in demolishing the old church building they found his tomb under the chancel in good preservation. The following is a translation of the Latin inscription found on the slab over his tomb:

> "Here lies the remains of Henry Nichols, A. M., formerly a Fellow of Jesus College, Oxford, and a pastor of this church for 41 years—most unworthy. Born April 1st 1678; died Feb. 12th 1748. Save his soul, O Christ, for Thy own merits. He lived 70 years. Tread upon salt without savor. He ordered these to be inscribed."

A record of his will can be found in the Hall of Records, Annapolis, Maryland, in which the following persons are mentioned, chiefly relating to the distribution of land:

> Elizabeth Nichols, his late wife; Dorothy Nichols, my wife; his sons, Henry, Charles, Jonathan, Jeremiah, James, William and my sister Elizabeth.

A number of his lineal descendants still worship at St. Michael's Church, and they, a few years ago, placed a tablet to his memory in the place where he had ministered for so many years.

The authorities of his old college at Oxford seem to have lost touch with him, as in "The History of Jesus College" (Hardy), he is described as fellow of the College 1702-1751, though he died in 1748.

His name is not mentioned in the volume "Old Cowbridge, etc." by Dr. Lemuel James, nor in any biographical dictionary of noted Welshmen.

He was the only Jenkins' fellow, for nearly 150 years, to carry out the wishes of the founder. The next two fellows to do so were William David, a native of Radyr, Glamorganshire, fellow 1745-58, who in 1850 went as a missionary to Canada, and John David Jenkins, fellow 1849-1876, a native of Merthyr Tydfil, who went to South Africa in 1852.

William David afterwards became rector of St. Fagan's, Cardiff, and John David Jenkins, better known as Dr. Jenkins, being a Doctor of Divinity of Oxford University, became vicar of Aberdare in 1870. Both took a prominent part in the affairs of the diocese of Llandaff.

(I am indebted for some of the facts in the above article to Dr. Raphael Semmes, Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, U. S. A.; Mr. J. W. Lydekker, M. A., S. P. G. Archivist, London; Rev. Robert W. Lewis, Rector of St. Michael's Parish Church, Maryland, U. S. A.; and Dr. Morris L. Radiff, Archivist, Hall of Records, Annapolis, Maryland, U. S. A.)

Letter of Bishop Doane of New Jersey to the Archbishop of Canterbury Concerning the 150th Anniversary of the S. P. G.

With Introduction and Notes by Walter Herbert Stowe

IN the Library of Congress is a photostat of the letter to the archbishop of Canterbury by the bishop of New Jersey in 1851 in connection with the sesquicentennial celebration of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. It is at first a little difficult to realize that the S. P. G. was, even then, the "Venerable Society," and that soon, within another eight years, it will be 250 years old. Better to appreciate the letter, it will be well for us to know in outline something about the sender and something about the recipient.

GEORGE WASHINGTON DOANE (May 27, 1799-April 27, 1859), SECOND BISHOP OF NEW JERSEY (1832-1859)

Born in Trenton, New Jersey, Doane's boyhood was largely spent in Geneva, New York, where he was greatly influenced to seek a college education and to consider the ministry as his life work, by the Rev. Orin Clark (1788-1828), then rector of Trinity Church.

He graduated from Union College in 1818 and began his preparation for the law, but he soon found the call to the ministry too strong to be denied and studied theology under Bishop Hobart of New York, by whom he was ordained deacon in 1821 and priest in 1823. It was some time in the year 1820-21, according to Doane's own statement, that after he and Bishop Hobart had spent the night with the Rev. John Churchill Rudd of Elizabeth, New Jersey, and as he left the bishop at the Jersey City ferry,

> "He gave me his cloak to carry home; playfully putting it on my shoulder. I thought of Paul's cloak which Timothy was to bring from Troas; and was happy, if not proud."

The gesture, though playful, was symbolic. If Hobart's mantle was too large for Doane, he nevertheless carried a good portion of it, became in many ways Hobart's successor, became the greatest bishop

of New Jersey, and one of the dozen or so greatest bishops of the American Episcopal Church.

Doane was assistant to the Rev. George Upfold (1796-1872), later bishop of Indiana (1849-1872), who founded St. Luke's Church, New York City. In 1824 he became professor of belles-lettres in Washington (now Trinity) College, Hartford, remaining there four years. He was one of the founders and editors of the *Episcopal Watchman,* for which he had considerable talents, later exercised in both Boston and Burlington.[1]

In 1828 he was called as assistant rector of Trinity Church, Boston, and two years later, rector. On October 3, 1832, at the age of 33, Doane was elected bishop of New Jersey; and four weeks later (October 31st), he was consecrated in St. Paul's Chapel, New York City, with three others—Hopkins of Vermont, Smith of Kentucky, and McIlvaine of Ohio—the only time in the history of the American Church that four bishops have been consecrated at the same time and place.

New Jersey was then a weak and unpromising field. But its business and industrial growth, all unknown, was about to begin in flourishing fashion with the opening of the Morris, and Delaware and Raritan, canals, and with the rapid building of railroads. New Jersey, as the "intermediate state" between New York and Philadelphia, was to profit greatly thereby.

The man and the opportunity were well met. Whereas the population of the state doubled during his episcopate, the growth of the Church far outstripped that of the state. In 1832 there were only 18 clergymen in all of the New Jersey—the whole state being one diocese; in 1859, they totalled 98. The 27 parishes and missions of 1832 had become 85 in 1859. The 900 communicants had increased to 5,000; and there were 504 Sunday school teachers and 4,410 Sunday school scholars. The ratio of population to each communicant in the diocese in 1832 was about 385 to 1; at his death the ratio was 134 to 1.

St. Mary's Hall, founded 1837, was Doane's "best gift to education."[2] He was a pioneer in higher education for women, and his faith and works in this field entitle him to grateful remembrance in the history of the emancipation of American womanhood.

St. Mary's Hall involved him financially very seriously, but it would have been justified in the outcome if he had not allowed his zeal for

[1]For Doane's editorial career, see Clifford P. Morehouse, "Origins of the Episcopal Church Press," HISTORICAL MAGAZINE OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH, Volume XI (1942), pp. 245-249, 250, 251, 267-268, 283, 303-304.

[2]See, Nelson R. Burr, *Education in New Jersey, 1630-1871,* Princeton University Press, 1942, p. 84. This volume contains the best exposition (Chapter V., pp. 71-87) of the contribution of the Episcopal Church, including that of the S. P. G., to education in New Jersey.

another educational venture to warp his business judgment. In 1846 he founded Burlington College for boys and erected buildings with practically no funds in hand, and this latter project plunged him so heavily into debt that he became bankrupt. His enemies in the House of Bishops seized the opportunity, long coveted, to present him for trial; but Doane, having been trained as a lawyer and electing to plead his own case (which precluded his accusers from engaging outside legal counsel for their side), "made the trial of a bishop hard" by tieing up his accusers and the trial court in such legal tangles that the case was finally dismissed on the bishop's admission that he had done some things he ought not to have done in trying to save his schools.

Doane was a graceful poet and introduced Keble's *Christian Year* to America. In 1824 he published *Songs by the Way*. Three of his hymns are still sung in our churches: "Softly Now the Light of Day" (1824), "Thou Art the Way" (1824), and "Fling Out the Banner" (1848).

Doane was probably the outstanding leader of the high church party in his generation. Although he did not have the learning of Bishop Whittingham of Maryland, he was a brilliant controversialist and a preacher of great power. He defended the Oxford movement unflinchingly. Regretting the defection of Newman, Ives and others, he was nonetheless undismayed.

But his influence throughout the Church was large on other grounds. He was a zealous advocate of missions and preached that cause in season and out. In the General Convention of 1835 he was a leader in reorganizing the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society, whereby every baptized member of the Church was declared to be a member of the Society, and charged with missionary responsibility. He preached the sermon at the consecration of the American Church's first duly commissioned missionary bishop—Jackson Kemper—and that sermon[5] is still a clarion call to the Church to fulfill its marching orders for missions.

Doane's older son, George Herbert, while still in deacon's orders, "went to Rome," and was deposed by his father; but his younger son, William Croswell (1832-1913), became the first bishop of Albany (1869-1913) and a distinguished member of the American episcopate.

After an episcopate of nearly 27 years, and one month short of being 60 years old, George Washington Doane was translated to the Church Expectant, uttering as his last words the epitome of his life:

[5]This sermon in full is to be found in the Bishop Kemper Centennial Number of HISTORICAL MAGAZINE OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH, Volume IV., pp. 180-194.

"I die in the faith of the Son of God and in the confidence of His one Catholic and Apostolic Church. I have no merits—no man has—but my trust is in the mercy of Jesus."

The archbishop of Canterbury to whom Bishop Doane addressed his letter of April 25th, 1851, was

JOHN BIRD SUMNER (1780-1862), ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY (1848-1862)

Born at Kenilworth, Warwickshire, and educated at Eton and Cambridge, John Bird Sumner became a tutor at Eton in 1802 and in the following year took holy orders. In 1817 he was elected a fellow of Eton and the next year the college presented him with the living of Maple Durham, Oxfordshire.

After being prebendary of Durham for some years, he was consecrated bishop of Chester on September 14, 1828. During his episcopate many churches and schools were built in the diocese. His numerous writings were much esteemed by the evangelical party, to which he belonged. The best known are: *Treaties on the Records of Creation and the Moral Attributes of the Creator* (1816); and *The Evidence of Christianity derived from its Nature and Reception* (1821).

In 1848 Sumner was transferred to Canterbury. The period of his primacy was one of the most exciting in the history of the Church of England. Before his accession to the primatial see, the Oxford movement was in full swing, Newman had seceded from the Church of England, and others were following in his steps.

In 1850 the famous Gorham case reached its climax. George Cornelius Gorham (1787-1857) was refused institution to the benefice of Bramford Speke by Bishop Henry Phillpotts (1778-1869) of Exeter (1831-1869), because of his Calvinistic views on baptismal regeneration. The court of arches upheld the bishop, but on appeal its decision was reversed by the privy council on the grounds that the language used by Gorham was not so clearly contrary to the formularies of the Church of England as to justify the bishop of Exeter in refusing institution.

In the autumn of the very same year, 1850, was the great popular outcry against the "papal aggression," following the papal brief, dated September 29, 1850, establishing the Roman hierarchy in England. When Cardinal Wiseman returned to London from Rome, November 11th, the whole country was ablaze with indignation.

To Archdeacon Henry Edward Manning (1808-1892) the Gorham case was the last straw. He refused to take part in the protest

against "papal aggression," and in December, 1850, he resigned his benefice and archdeaconry. His intentions were quite clear, but it was not until April 6, 1851, nineteen days before the date of Bishop Doane's letter to the archbishop, that Manning entered the Roman Church, in which he was eventually to be a cardinal (1875).

It is to these "troubles and trials by which you are beset," to which Doane refers towards the end of his letter. And there was more excitement to follow: the publication of Darwin's *Origin of Species* in 1859, with the resulting concern over the theory of evolution; and the publication in 1860 of *Essays and Reviews,* which ushered in the Broad Church movement.

Archbishop Sumner is generally considered to have dealt impartially with the different Church parties; he did not, however, escape the charge of heresy levelled at him by Bishop Phillpotts who refused to hold communication with him.

But through all the excitement the Venerable Society of the S. P. G. went serenely on its way, commemorated its 150th anniversary, and continued to hold before the Church of England, and the whole Anglican Communion, its solemn obligation to propagate the Gospel in foreign parts as well as at home. And it is still doing so.

BISHOP DOANE'S LETTER

Riverside, St. Mark's Day, 1851
[Burlington, N. J., April 25, 1851]

Most Reverend and dear Brother,

I was away from home, on a Visitation of my Diocese which is not yet completed, when your most interesting letter arrived; and though I have but a day, I must employ a part of it in its cordial acknowledgment.

With my whole heart I respond to the resolution of the Venerable Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, "to commemorate, with thanksgiving and prayer, the close of its third Jubilee," and to your Grace's admirable proposal of a "Joint Celebration." At the approaching Convention of the Diocese of New Jersey which will assemble here, on the eve of the Feast of the Ascension,[4] I shall propose a plan for its commemoration among us; and shall commend it heartily to my brethren reverend and beloved, the Clergy and the Laity, who will be with me then. It will come with singular fitness from a Bishop whose chair, in the gracious order of God's Providence, is set in the very place, which the Venerable Society selected, in 1710, as the seat of the first Bishop in America;

[4]Ascension Day in 1851 fell on May 29th, and the convention was duly convened on May 28th.

and in a Church, his own parochial cure,[5] which was founded one hundred and forty-eight years ago [1703], by one of the Society's earliest Missionaries, the Rev. John Talbot;[6] and the Parsonage House, for which was provided, one hundred and thirty-three years ago [1720], by the benevolence of a Bishop of Gloucester,[7] through the friendly interest of a Bishop of London.[8] Nor can it fail of a most affectionate reception in a Diocese which, as truly and as gratefully as any other, adopts and owns the tribute, which the Preface of our Prayer Book renders, to the Church of England, as to her, "indebted, under God, for her first foundation, and a long continuance of nursing care and protection."

The celebration which is proposed, while it must secure a hearty interest and consent, wherever the noble vine, whose planting it commemorates, has dropped a seed, will certainly, with God's blessing on the hearts of men, be rich in spiritual fruits. It must awaken new convictions of the truth and preciousness of the Redeemer's promise to His Apostles to be always with them to see how literally "a little one has become a thousand." It must draw together, in a closer bond, the souls of the vast brotherhood whose voices rise together in our common prayer, "from the rising of the sun even to the going down of the same." It must quicken the pious purposes of Christian men and Christian women, whom God has made the stewards of His goods, to give, as He enables them, the poor of their poverty as the rich of their abundance,—for the increase and furtherance of a work so blessed of the Lord, so full of blessings for mankind. And, shall it not bring down, an hundredfold, into the bosom of the Venerable Mother of us all, in peace, and plenty, and prosperity, the rich reward of her unwearied labours and uncounted alms! As "the signs of an Apostle" mark her, in every land, an Apostolic Church, so shall the world-wide tokens of a Catholic love, set to the seal of God, [testify?] to her continuance in the Catholic Faith.

I should do violence to every generous feeling of my heart, dear and most reverend brother, did I withhold the assurance of my deep and tender sympathy with you, and with your whole Communion, in the troubles and trials by which you are now beset:[9] or keep from you the confident assurance, that my beloved brethren of the Church of England, of every order and in every rank, have but to follow the Apostle's counsel, to the

[5]Bishop Doane was rector of St. Mary's, Burlington, throughout his episcopate.

[6]For the life and letters of John Talbot, see Edgar L, Pennington, *Apostle of New Jersey: John Talbot, 1645-1727;* The Church Historical Society, Philadelphia, 1938, 217 pp.

[7]Richard Willis, bishop of Gloucester (1715-1721); bishop of Salisbury (1721-1723); bishop of Winchester (1723—d. August 10, 1734).

[8]John Robinson, bishop of London from 1714 till his death, April 11, 1723.

[9]As to what those "troubles and trials" were, see above, the biographical sketch of Archbishop Sumner.

Philippian Church to "stand fast in one spirit, with one mind, striving together for the faith of the Gospel, and in nothing terrified by" their "adversaries," to receive, in the gracious answer to their faithful prayers, "an evident token" "of salvation, and that of God."[10] To all that truly love the suffering Saviour, and would share His consolations and His triumphs, it is given "not only to believe on Him, but also to suffer for His sake."[11]

That upon the Venerable Society, and upon the whole Church of England, the most abundant blessing of the Holy One may continue and increase; and that He may hold your Grace in His most holy keeping, and give you many seals to your responsible and arduous ministry for souls, is the continual prayer, dear and most Reverend Brother, of your affectionate Brother in the Lord—

G. W. DOANE,
Bishop of New Jersey.

To His Grace,
The Lord Archbishop of Canterbury.

[10]Philippians 1:27, 28.
[11]*Ibid.*, 1:29.

THE SEAL OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL IN FOREIGN PARTS

The Society's Charter was granted by William III on June 16, 1701

The above Seal was adopted July 8 1701

THE SEAL OF THE S. P. G.

By The Editor.

AT the first meeting of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, held on June 27, 1701, in Lambeth Palace, "steps were taken for the preparation of a seal. . . ." Among those attending were Dr. Thomas Tenison, archibshop of Canterbury, who was president of the Society, as all of his successors in the see of Canterbury have been; Dr. Henry Compton,[1] bishop of London (1675-1713), who had the welfare of the Church in America very much on his mind and heart; the Rev. Dr. Thomas Bray, founder of the S. P. C. K. as well as of the S. P. G.; and twenty-seven other prominent bishops, priests, and laymen of the time.

The second meeting of the Society, held July 8, 1701, at the Cockpit, decided that the motto of the seal should be *Sigillum Societatis de Promovendo Evangelio in Partibus Transmarinis,* and that "the device or impression" of the seal should be:

> "A ship under sail, making towards a point of Land, upon the Prow standing a Minister with an open Bible in his hand, People standing on the shore in a Posture of Expectation, and using these words: *Transiens Adjuva Nos* ['Come over and help us']."

One of our American bishops, Dr. William Croswell Doane (May 2, 1832-May 17, 1913), of Albany (1869-1913), so well expounded its meaning that C. F. Pascoe in his *Two Hundred Years of the S. P. G.* (London, 1901, 2 volumes), inserted it under the Society's seal in the frontispiece (p. iv) of the first volume:

> "That quaint device upon the Seal of this venerable Society, with its queer old ship and the man at the bow holding an open Bible in his hand, is one of those anachronisms in naval architecture which tells at a glance the story of its age. But it is the legend, *Transiens adjuva nos,* which explains the fact of the almost universal adjective instinctively applied to the Society. For S. P. G. is venerable and venerated the

[1]For a good biography of Bishop Compton, *see* Charles P. Keith, *Henry Compton, Bishop of London;* Church Historical Society, Philadelphia, 1920.

> world over because it has always listened for and heard the call, 'Come over and help us'; across seas, pathless until the mission-ship made a wake in them, glowing with other than the phosphorescent light of ordinary wakes; through wildernesses, trackless until they were trodden by the feet of men shod with the preparation of the Gospel of Peace; and over continents whose primaeval forests the missionary blazed with the Sign of the Cross."

For almost two and a half centuries the Society's seal has been the symbol of its primary aim "to save our fellow-Christians from lapsing into pagans", and of its work, going on simultaneously from the first, "of converting pagans into Christians." One of the very oldest of missionary societies, as distinguished from religious orders, the S. P. G. is vigorously carrying on its noble work unto this very day. In fulfilling the great command to "make disciples of all nations" the Venerable Society has sought to build up colonial Churches as missionary centers—"the surer way of spreading the Gospel to the uttermost parts of the earth," as Bishop G. A. Selwyn termed it. The first fruits of this policy were to be seen in the organization of the American Episcopal Church during the years 1785-1789, after three-quarters of a century of "nursing care and protection" in practically all of the American colonies outside of Virginia and Maryland. So extensive was the Society's work in America between 1702 and 1784, so voluminous was the correspondence between the missionaries and the London office, that the story of the S. P. G. in America has not yet been more than cursorily told. To remedy this defect, from the combined motives of justice and gratitude and sheer enlightenment for ourselves and our posterity, is one of the objectives of HISTORICAL MAGAZINE and one of the grounds which justify its existence.

BOOK REVIEWS.

Journal and Letters of Philip Vickers Fithian, 1773-1774: A Plantation Tutor of the Old Dominion. Edited, with an Introduction, by Hunter Dickinson Farish. Williamsburg, Virginia. Colonial Williamsburg, Incorporated. 1943. Pp. 323.

In the popular mind the Williamsburg project is associated with the restoration of such historic buildings as the royal governor's palace, the capitol, the Wren building or William and Mary College and numerous colonial residences. It should, however, be more widely known that it has also established a department of historical research under the capable direction of Dr. Hunter Dickinson Farish, who taught American history at Harvard, and it has the benefit of the counsel and co-operation of distinguished professors of history at Yale, Harvard and Princeton. The volume under review, *The Journal and Letters of Philip Vickers Fithian,* is the third of a series of Historical Studies, the earlier ones being *The Present State of Virginia and the College* (William and Mary) and *Robert Carter of Nomini Hall, a Virginia Tobacco Planter of the Eighteenth Century.* The Fithian *Journal* was not published for a century after his death and is now reissued with additional letters and an illuminating introduction by Dr. Farish. He was a young Princeton theological student who spent one year as tutor in the family of Colonel Carter, who was one of the largest landowners and planters in Virginia, a member of the governor's Council, warmly attached to the Church of England. In this *Journal* Fithian not only records his own activities and social contacts, but also those of the Carter family and of the Lees and the Washingtons. He describes vividly the home life of the great Virginia families; the brilliant balls, barbecues, dancing schools, horse races and cockfights. He tells how the planters built their mansions after the pattern of the British landowners; imported the silks, satins and laces for the dresses of their wives; sent their sons to the English universities after having been prepared by English and Scotch tutors. The *Journal* evidences keen economic observation—the management of the vast estates; the enormous tracts of land devoted to the cultivation of tobacco for export to England, and the treatment of slaves who were allowed small tracts of land and "a peck of corn and a pound of meat per head." Colonel Carter had six hundred slaves who spent their Sundays ar cockfights. More than incidental reference is made to the Church, the clergy and their sermons. Fithian writes: "I commonly attend church, and often, at the request of gentlemen, after service, according to the custom, dine abroad on Sunday." Here are some entries:

> "Rode to Nominy Church—about six miles—Parson Smith preached—'What shall a man be profited.'"

> "Rode to Richmond upper Church, a Polite Assembly; Mr. Gibbern gave us a sermon on, 'O Death, I will be thy Plague,' &c., a warm discourse."

An editorial note says of the said Gibberne that he was "the most popular and admired preacher in the colony . . . an exceptionally sociable and convivial man, he spent much of his time in visiting and gambling and tippling." Fithian describes a Virginia Sunday:

> "I observe it is a general custom on Sundays here, with gentlemen to invite one another home to dine, after Church; and to consult about, determine their common business, either before or after service—It is not the custom for gentlemen to go into Church til service is beginning, when they enter in a body, in the same manner as they come out; I have known the Clerk to come out and call them in to prayers.—They stay also after service is over, usually as long, sometimes longer, than the Parson was preaching."

He records conversing at length with Colonel Carter on the condition of William and Mary College:

> "He informed me that it is in such confusion at present, & so badly directed, that he cannot send his children with propriety there for Improvement & useful Education—That he has known the Professors to play all Night at Cards in publick Houses in the City, and has often seen them drunken in the Street.—That the Charter of the College is vastly Extensive, & the yearly income sufficient to support a University being about 4,000 £ Sterling,—That the necessary Expence for each scholar is only 15 £ Currency.

At the close of his one year's stay in Virginia he returned to his home in New Jersey and was licensed to preach by the Philadelphia Presbytery. In 1776 he became a chaplain in the Revolutionary army and died from exposure after the battle of White Plains. The Restoration has done well to republish this *Journal*. It is an invaluable contribution to life in Virginia in its "golden age." Not the least interesting feature is a catalogue of the library of Colonel Carter compiled by the young tutor. It numbered several hundred volumes, including many folios, and consisted of law books, all the Latin and Greek classics, a large number of books on divinity, chiefly by writers who are of the established religion; Locke, Addison, Young, Pope, Swift and Dryden. A word of praise is due the format—it is a perfect example of the art of printing at its best.

E. CLOWES CHORLEY.

William Lawrence: Later Years of a Happy Life, by Henry Knox Sherrill. Cambridge. Harvard Univesity Press. 1943. Pp. 179. $2.

This book, so far as our knowledge goes, is the only biography in the history of the world devoted exclusively to the years of a man's retirement. No worthier subject for such a biography could be found. It is the sequel to Bishop Lawrence's *Memories of a Happy Life* (Boston, 1926), which was published the year before the bishop resigned his jurisdiction as diocesan of Massachusetts. Bishop Sherrill's volume covers the years from 1927 until November 6, 1941, when Bishop Lawrence died at the age of 91, he having been born May 30, 1850.

The seven chapters are: "The Retired Bishop," "The Family," "The Diocese," "The Citizen," "Educational Interests," "The Church Beyond the Diocese," "The Last Year."

> "It might have been truly said of him, 'Life begins at Seventy-Seven'; for at that age he began a new and significant phase of his long life of service" (p. 5).

Every clergyman, and every layman for that matter, under fifty years of age should read this book. After that age it may be too late, for if avocations are not developed in the midst of one's vocation, they are unlikely so to be after fifty. We are happy to say that we can recall six retired priests who are making valuable contributions to American Church history; but it is unlikely that they would be doing so if they had not been interested in this field during their active ministry. This was one of the secrets of Bishop Lawrence's "later years of a happy life." He had outside interests during his active episcopate, and these he took up in a more intensive fashion after he retired.

Another reason for the richness of his retired years, as given by his biographer, was:

> "Bishop Lawrence's ministry all along to the very end revealed increasing power as a preacher. Indeed, this constant growth and development were among the most noteworthy of his qualities."

The author very effectively allows Bishop Lawrence to tell a good deal of his own story by quoting from his diary and from his sermons and addresses. These latter were certainly of a high quality and enhance his already great reputation for sound judgment.

At the very beginning of these remarkable fifteen years came the greatest sorrow of his life—the death of his beloved wife. This he met with "serene faith and courage":

> "Each year when Bishop Lawrence purchased his new memorandum book, he wrote in the fly-leaf, 'Ezekiel 24:18. And at even my wife died; and I did in the morning as I was commanded.' "

When Bishop Lawrence was consecrated (1893) as the successor of Phillips Brooks, his diocese included the whole state of Massachusetts. In 1901 the diocese of Western Massachusetts was set up, and Bishop Lawrence raised the initial endowment for it. Thirty-six years later (January 13, 1937), there came to him an experience which no other American bishop has ever been privileged to enjoy—the consecration of his son, W. Appleton, as bishop of Western Massachusetts, with his father as both consecrator and preacher.

The perspective of time will undoubtedly certify that William Lawrence belongs in the front rank of American bishops. Not only was his administration as diocesan exceptional, as witnessed by the growth of the Church in his jurisdiction, but his service to the Church at large was monumental—notably in the creation of the Church Pension Fund, for which the largest share of credit belongs to him. The primary purpose of that Fund was and is to enable the clergy to retire before both they and their parishes are broken down by the infirmities of age; and that the Church's administration might pass to younger hands before too much damage is done. Bishop Lawrence practised what he preached. When he resigned, he meant it. In his own retirement he was a bright and shining light to all those who are to come after, showing how one's retirement from a major vocation can be both happy and useful in one or more avocations.

The clergy around Boston are quite certain that their diocese is the best administered in the American Church. However that may be, we rejoice that Bishop Sherrill has taken time out of his busy life to write this admirable contribution to American biography. Once, when the British parliament was about to adjourn for the summer holidays, someone asked Benjamin Disraeli: "Do you read novels during your holiday?" "No," he replied, "I write them." We trust that Bishop Sherrill will continue to *write* biographies during his vacations; for he writes well.

Walter H. Stowe.

Our American Partners: The Life and Activities of the Episcopal Church in America, by Canon J. McLeod Campbell, General Secretary of the Missionary Council of the Church [of England] Assembly, with a Foreword by the Bishop of Winchester. London, Press and publications Board, 2 Great Peter Street, Westminster S. W. 1. 1941. Pp. 42. 1s. net.

We have had but two booklets, still in print, on the history of the American Episcopal Church, suitable for the instruction of confirmands or for placing in the hands of inquiring laymen. One is Bishop Frank E. Wilson's *An Outline History of the Episcopal Church* (New York, Morehouse-Gorham Company, 1932; 74 pp.); the other, Dr. Nelson R. Burr's *The Story of the Episcopal Church in the United States* (Hartford, Church Missions Publishing Company, Publication No. 48, 1935; 42 pp.)

But now, if it can be imported from England, we have a third to add to the list—and a very good one, too. On the ground that more

people (especially laymen) are likely to get an immediate and perhaps lasting impression of the Church's history from such booklets, we propose to review this English contribution in considerable detail.

The motives for the writing and publication of *Our American Partners* were: first, gratitude for the American Church's gift of over $300,000 in 1940 for British missions, followed by annual contributions of lesser amount; and, second, "an impatient desire for an understanding of the giver."

> "There will be an element of remorse in this response to American generosity. A recent interpreter of American feeling bids us turn the searchlight upon ourselves 'because the irritations which we cause to the Americans matter more than any they may cause to us . . . .' It is not only that we convey a 'tranquil assurance of an effortless superiority'; it is more serious than that. We do not take the trouble to know how good their accomplishment is, in learning, in letters, in science, and not least in education. . . . Behind the unshakeable courtesy of the educated American, even among those who are closest to us in sympathy and spirit, there is a silent resentment at the British refusal to take seriously the achievements and resources of America in the things of the mind."

"This booklet is an attempt to answer some of the questions, confining itself to a limited objective, to whet rather than satisfy the curiosity excited by gratitude." It can be said that there is not a dull line in it, and that the portrayal is on the whole an illuminating one.

The six chapter headings will give some idea of the contents: "The Pledge of Partnership," "The First Ventures" (the colonial period), "Later Vicissitudes" (the Revolutionary war, securing the episcopate, and the period of organization), "Setback and Advance" (1790-1835 and after), "Campaigns Overseas" (foreign missions of the American Church), "The Twentieth Century," and "Epilogue."

Chapter Four closes (p. 28) with a sidelight on the life of an American parish, contributed by an English observer of experience:

> "An important point in which the American Church really has the advantage over us is that over there to be an Episcopalian is to be a regular communicant to a much greater extent than is the case in the Church of England. Due perhaps to its existence in a largely protestant environment, the emphasis which the Episcopal Church lays on the sacraments is one of its outstanding characteristics. Whereas with us regular communicants tend to form an inner ring, with them it is otherwise."

The chapter on "Campaigns Overseas" states that American Christians of all non-Roman groups "are responsible for 60 per cent of non-Roman Catholic missions in the world." The overseas work of the

Episcopal Church is pictured by the selection of certain fields and brought right down to date—Liberia, China, Japan, and the Philippines.

The freshness of treatment throughout the booklet arouses our curiosity as to the books consulted. Here is the listed bibliography:

History of the American Episcopal Church. S. D. McConnell.
Apostle of New Jersey, John Talbot, 1645-1727. E. L. Pennington.
The Life and Letters of Bishop William White. W. H. Stowe.
Memoir of Bishop Seabury. W. J. Seabury.
Anglican Humanitarianism in Colonial New York. F. J. Klingberg.
The Faithful Mohawks. J. W. Lydekker.
THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH.
The American Episcopal Church. A. W. Jenks.

That three of the above volumes are publications of the Church Historical Society, and that with HISTORICAL MAGAZINE they comprise one-half of the whole list, is very flattering. But there are two regrettable omissions, namely, the two authoritative and fairly recent volumes by Dr. William W. Manross: *A History of the American Episcopal Church* (New York, Morehouse-Gorham Company, 1935, 404 pp)., and *The Episcopal Church in the United States: 1800-1840* (New York, Columbia University Press, 1938, pp. 270).

Dr. Manross's volumes not having been consulted, explains a very serious omission in the booklet: Bishop Hobart is not mentioned. The revival of the Church before 1835 can be neither understood nor appreciated which leaves him and the resurgence he symbolized out of account. The whole of the period, 1810-1830, is scarcely touched on, leaving the reader completely in the dark as to what made possible the missionary expansion initiated in 1835.

But before we fault the author too severely, since the booklet shows considerable use of HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, let every editor beat his own breast and say, *culpa mea;* for after twelve years of publication this Magazine has never had a Bishop Hobart Number; and he ranks among the three greatest bishops of the Church. The 100th anniversary of Bishop's Hobart's death came in 1930, two years before HISTORICAL MAGAZINE began publication; but the 175th anniversary of his birth will come in 1950.

There are minor errors of fact:

Page 9: John Wesley did not serve 18 years in Georgia, but two only, 1736-1737.

Page 18: White and Provoost were consecrated in 1787, not 1797.

Page 18-19: The first General Convention (1785) was held *after* Bishop Seabury's return to America, not before.

Page 21: The House of Bishops was not given a full veto in 1792. Although offered to that House in the General Convention of 1795, the suspicion of bishops in general and prelacy in particular was still so strong that the bishops themselves rejected the offer, and it did not become a fact until 1808.

The epilogue is devoted to why "the British and American members of the Anglican Communion have so regrettably lost touch with one another, when each had everything to gain from mutual intimacy"; and how this lost ground can be regained. It closes with these words:

> "It is hoped that the friendship engendered in adversity, and expressed on the American side with such practical generosity, may be the opening of a new epoch in our relations. Gratitude provokes curiosity, curiosity issues in knowledge, and the greater the knowledge of the Episcopal Church in the United States, the warmer will be the affection for it and the greater the pride in its achievements."

May every booklet on the American Church be as successful in whetting the curiosity for further study of our history.

WALTER H. STOWE.

London in Flames, London in Glory: Poems on the Fire and Rebuilding of London, 1666-1709. Edited by Robert Arnold Aubin. New Brunswick, Rutgers University Press. 1943. Pages xvi, 383.

Many Americans who watched from afar with bated breath the Nazi attempt to destroy London in 1940, and who were greatly moved by the glorious manner in which Londoners showed the world that they could "take it," may have forgotten that exactly 274 years before London faced a similar devastation, though from a different cause.

The fire of 1666 was an "act of God," as the insurance men say; and the Londoner of 1666 literally believed it to be just that. God's wrath was justly visited upon him for his manifold sins: "This we are sure of, that whoever kindled the fire, God did blow the coal" (p. xiv).

Dr. Aubin's book contains 32 poems, covering approximately 304 pages, which celebrate various aspects of the Great Fire and the rebuilding of the city; 70 pages of explanatory notes; and an index of nine pages. He has apparently ransacked the great libraries in Great Britain as well as those in this country. The poems are edited with elaborate introductions and footnotes. The book represents a prodigious amount of painstaking labor. The editor leaves no one in doubt as to the quality of most of the poems; that is, it is not high. His justification of his labor is found in a quotation from Southey (1807):

> "Down to the Restoration it is to be wished, that every poet, however unworthy of the name, should be preserved. In the worst volume of elder date, the historian may find something to assist, or direct his enquiries; the antiquarian something to elucidate what requires illustration; the philologist something to insert in the margin of his dictionary. Time does more for books than for wine, it gives worth to what originally was worthless."

Anyone who believes that history is more than politics will concur in this. Dr. Aubin's book helps us to catch the tone and atmosphere of the time; to understand better the elusive social scene, the humanitarianism of the period, the power of the pulpit; and a host of other factors necessary for the truthful re-creation of an age.

WALTER H. STOWE.

Our Church One Through the Ages, by the Rev. Wm. Postell Witsell, D. D. Morehouse-Gorham Co., New York and Milwaukee. 1943. With Introduction by the Rt. Rev. James De Wolf Perry, D. D., bishop of Rhode Island.

A new and revised edition of a book which has already proved its usefulness. It is an endeavor to show the unbroken continuity of the English and the Protestant Episcopal Church with the Catholic Church of the ages. Written in clear and simple language, it will be useful to place in the hands of laymen and as a textbook for study groups.

E. C. C.

The Story of Saint James' Episcopal Church, West Hartford, Connecticut, 1843-1943, by Nelson R. Burr, Ph. D., Hartford. Church Missions Company.

Dr. Burr continues his monographs on Connecticut parishes with a study of a parish which began in what was then a rural community and is now numbered among the Hartford parishes. Such publications as these are valuable and fruitful sources of our Church history and not least in the biographical sketches of the parochial clergy.

E. C. C.

Timothy Dwight, 1752-1817. A Biography by Charles A. Cunningham. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1942. Pp. 403.

A brilliant Biography; not only that—it is a discriminating account of the social, educational and religious conditions of an important puritan period of American history, for by reason of his ancestry Timothy Dwight belonged to the royal family of the puritans. Born in Northampton, Massachusetts, in 1752, his mother, who was the daughter of Jonathan Edwards, brought him up in the strait and narrow way of the ten commandments. At the age of four he was searching the Scriptures; at six he became conscious of his own depravity. When he was thirteen he entered Yale College. Compulsory prayers ushered in the college day at four-thirty in summer, and one hour later in winter. At the age of nineteen he became a tutor in the college. With the aid of Trumbull he introduced the study of English literature long before it became part of the regular course. During the War of the Revolution he served as chaplain to the 1st Connecticut brigade stationed in the Highlands of the Hudson under the command of General Israel Putnam. From the army he entered the ministry. In 1795 he came into his

own with an election as president of Yale. What a contrast to the Yale of today. Regarded by many as "a ruined college", there were just over one hundred students and the faculty consisted of the president, one professor and three young tutors. The story of how Timothy Dwight developed the institution in his administration of twenty years into a great university is set forth in these pages. Before his death it had departments of law, medicine, science, theology and literature.

E. Clowes Chorley.

From a Japanese Prison, by Samuel Heaslett. Morehouse-Gorham Co.

This is a profoundly moving story of the arrest and imprisonment of Samuel Heaslett, D. D., formerly Anglican bishop of South Tokyo and for seven years presiding bishop of the Nippon Sei Kokwai. For five months he knew what it was "to be numbered with the transgressors", first in a crowded cell, then in solitary confinement, and he came through it all without a trace of bitterness. While he does not close his eyes to the evil which, for the moment at least, has captured Japan, he does not forget that in that country "fruits of Christian living are still being shown in the lives of a small minority".

E. C. C.